

# *NuclearTimes*

JULY-AUGUST 1986

\$4

## LEGACY OF CHERNOBYL

INSIDE NUCLEAR AMERICA





# WANTED: MORE SENATORS WITH COURAGE

We need a majority in the U.S. Senate with the courage to say NO to the dangerous and wasteful military buildup, senators who will oppose Star Wars, MX, ASAT, and deadly nerve gas. Council for a Livable World identifies and supports such candidates—challengers and incumbents. In 1984 we raised over a million dollars for candidates committed to nuclear arms control. When you give through the Council, you make out your checks to the candidates but send them to us. You retain your political identity. The Council delivers your check—with thousands of others—to the candidates and lets them know that the contributions are from the peace community. We concentrate on close races, where your checks can make a difference.

## SENATE CANDIDATES ENDORSED BY COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD AS OF JUNE, 1986

### **PATRICK LEAHY**

#### **Democrat—Vermont**

Incumbent Patrick Leahy is a national leader for nuclear arms control. He is being challenged by former Governor Richard Snelling, who has been persuaded to run by Ronald Reagan. An upset is possible.

**Political odds:** Leahy favored.

*Make checks out to LEAHY FOR U.S. SENATOR COMMITTEE.*

### **TIM WIRTH**

#### **Democrat—Colorado**

Representative Wirth seeks to succeed retiring incumbent Gary Hart. Wirth has a virtually perfect record on arms control. Likely Republican opponent, Rep. Ken Kramer, supports the Reagan military buildup.

**Political odds:** even. *Make checks out to COMMITTEE FOR TIM WIRTH.*

### **HARRIETT WOODS**

#### **Democrat—Missouri**

Lt. Gov. Woods is running for the seat of retiring incumbent Tom Eagleton. She is a firm supporter of a mutual and verifiable nuclear freeze. Her opponent, former Gov. Christopher Bond, is a loyal supporter of Ronald Reagan.

**Political odds:** even. *Make checks out to HARRIETT WOODS COMMITTEE.*

### **TOM DASCHLE**

#### **Democrat—South Dakota**

Challenger Daschle is South Dakota's only Representative in the House and a strong arms control supporter. Incumbent Senator James Abdnor is the far-right-winger who defeated George McGovern in 1980. The farm crisis will be important and Abdnor is vulnerable. **Political odds:** Daschle slight favorite. *Make checks out to A LOT OF PEOPLE SUPPORTING TOM DASCHLE.*

### **ED GARVEY**

#### **Democrat—Wisconsin**

Challenger Garvey is a tough independent progressive who will shake up the Senate. Formerly executive director of the National Football League Players Association, he can take the seat from superhawk incumbent Sen. Robert Kasten. **Political odds:** Kasten favored. *Make checks out to GARVEY FOR SENATE.*

### **ALAN CRANSTON**

#### **Democrat—California**

Incumbent Cranston is one of the best friends of the peace movement. A national leader for nuclear arms control, his voting record is superb. While Cranston leads now, we expect the November election to be very close. **Political odds:** Cranston favored. *Make checks out to CRANSTON FOR SENATE.*

### **BROCK ADAMS**

#### **Democrat—Washington**

Challenger Adams is a former congressman and Secretary of Transportation with a solid record on nuclear arms control. Incumbent Senator Slade Gorton has a poor record on military issues. **Political odds:** Gorton favored. *Make checks out to BROCK ADAMS SENATE COMMITTEE.*

### **KENT CONRAD**

#### **Democrat—North Dakota**

Challenger Conrad has been tax commissioner since 1980, elected statewide by big margins. A convinced arms controller, he is rising rapidly in the public opinion polls. The farm revolt against Reagan policies gives Conrad a chance to defeat incumbent Senator Mark Andrews. **Political odds:** Andrews favored. *Make checks out to THE CONRAD CAMPAIGN.*

### **BOB EDGAR**

#### **Democrat—Pennsylvania**

Challenger Edgar is an arms control leader in the House of Representatives with a 100% voting record. Incumbent Senator Arlen Specter supports Star Wars and MX. Edgar is a superb politician. **Political odds:** Specter slight favorite. *Make checks out to BOB EDGAR FOR U.S. SENATE.*

### **JOHN EVANS**

#### **Democrat—Idaho**

Challenger Evans is a popular two-term Governor running against freshman incumbent Senator Steven Symms, one of the worst hawks in Congress. Evans believes in arms control, supports a comprehensive test ban, opposes the MX. **Political odds:** even. *Make checks out to JOHN EVANS FOR SENATE CAMPAIGN.*

### **WYCHE FOWLER**

#### **Democrat—Georgia**

Challenger Fowler is a bright light in the U.S. House of Representatives, with a strong record on nuclear arms control. Incumbent Senator Mack Mattingly, who rates zero on nuclear arms control, could be upset. **Political odds:** Mattingly favored. *Make checks out to COMMITTEE TO ELECT WYCHE FOWLER.*

### **DALE BUMPERS**

#### **Democrat—Arkansas**

Incumbent Bumpers is one of the most effective members of the Senate, a recognized leader for nuclear arms control. Challenger Asa Hutchinson will follow the Reagan military policies down the line. **Political odds:** Bumpers favored. *Make checks out to BUMPERS FOR SENATE.*

If you wish to contribute to any of the above campaigns, please make out checks to appropriate committees and mail to: Council for a Livable World, Room 603, 20 Park Plaza, Boston, MA 02116. The committees listed above have authorized this advertisement, paid for by CLW.

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# Letters

## Mystery Train

While your May-June issue correctly noted that no Nuclear (formerly "white") Train shipments have gone to Bangor, Washington for over one year, you neglected to mention that during that same year, the Nuclear Train has been delivering its cargo to the Charleston Naval Weapons Station in South Carolina. Vigils and a few blockades have occurred all along the southeastern route each time the train moved, and in February, 1986, five people were arrested for trespass in Montezuma (Macon County), Georgia. There the tracks run right down the middle of the main business street. The five were convicted in late May and are currently serving the maximum sentence of one year in Georgia jails.

—Jack Cohen-Joppa  
Tucson, Az.

## Windy Climate

Many thanks for the recent write-up of our successful campaign making Chicago the nation's largest Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone ("Windy City Goes Nuclear Free," May-June). Unfortunately, due to space limitations, the author was not able to mention some of the other important aspects of the legally binding ordinance: the creation of a Peace Conversion Commission to help any companies affected; a prohibition of any participation by the city in civil defense planning with regard to nuclear war; a municipally sponsored annual commemoration on August 6th, and the posting of signs at City Hall and major roads.

These sections of the ordinance are crucial toward creating a base of understanding in the community, a "nuclear weapon-free climate" for Chicago. In the long run, after all the nuclear weapon contracts have been terminated, they will remain on the books for future generations as they work for a nuclear weapon-free world.

—Ron Freund  
Metro Chicago CALC  
Chicago, Il.

## Budget Picture

Upon reflection, I am unhappy with my quote in the May-June edition in the article entitled, "Beyond Budget Bashing." I do not deny saying, "I'm not sure budget work can make a difference in this town." I do think I painted an incomplete picture, the result of sloppy thinking on my part. Budget work in this town and most other places has yet to make a *fundamental* difference in the budget priorities of the federal budget—



**VIEWS FROM THE NUCLEAR WORLD** by Robert Del Tredici  
Peace Memorial Museum, Hiroshima, Japan: Diorama model of the city of Hiroshima after the atomic bombing, August 6, 1945.

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# NuclearTimes

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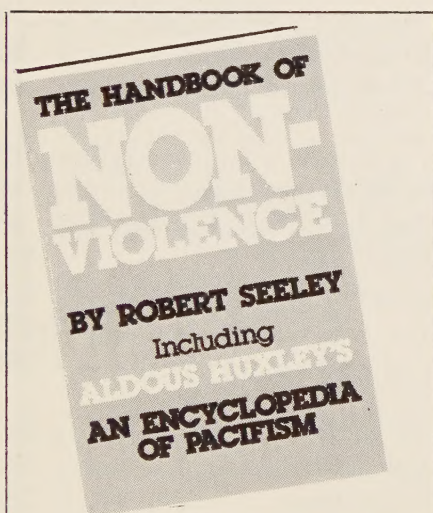
**Cover Photo**

National Oceanic and Atmospheric  
Administration

Dots on map indicate locations of  
nuclear power and weapons facilities.

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that's a more accurate reflection of my intent in commenting on budget work. Many are working hard to limit the success of the Reagan program and redirect our federal budget priorities. The successful efforts to reduce the Reagan military budgets are a testament to the real vulnerability of the programs put forth and underscore the need to keep up the attack and formulate alternatives.

—Gene Carroll  
Washington, D.C.

## Guys Not Named Joe

I was greatly disappointed to see a glib note on the 8th Congressional District race in your May-June issue that only continues the distortion of the contest appearing in most of the mainstream media. While I realize it was a short "blip," the reference to the field in the Democratic primary as "Joe Kennedy and a host of others" was poor journalism. For the record, beyond the "celebrity candidacy" of young Joe, a political neophyte whose main claim to fame is . . . fame, the field includes a number of progressive leaders whose stands on defense cuts, halts to nuclear testing, and weapons proliferation should be shared with your readers. Mel King, a black community activist and five-term state legislator; Carla Johnston, a leader in the nuclear freeze movement; and State Representative Tom Gallagher are some of the "host of others." The program of these candidates should be shared with your readers, rather than the typical (and cynical) slant in the media that Kennedy, just because he is a Kennedy, has this race wrapped up.

—John P. Demeter  
Mel King for Congress Committee  
Cambridge, Ma.

## That's The Ticket

While we agree with Jerome Grossman that Star Wars is a "cover for a hidden agenda . . . to provide a 'point' defense" for missile silos, we strongly disagree that peace groups should downgrade their efforts to oppose this ill-conceived weapons system (March-April issue, "Star Struck"). The overriding reason for continued concern is that, whether scientists think it will work or not, the nation's arms contractors have adopted Star Wars as their meal ticket for the next 20 years—and the momentum builds and builds.

Who is going to remind people, over and over again if need be, that Star Wars as now envisioned will *not* be a protective population shield in the event of a nuclear exchange; that SDI will give us first-strike capability, thereby destabilizing U.S.-Soviet relations; that super-intensive military research is draining top talent and dollars away from basic research and that the building of an SDI system will create severe domestic economic re-

percussions? If the knowledgeable and committed people in the peace movement fail to portray to Americans the sham that Star Wars really is, who will? Wise choices can only spring from awareness, not from ignorance.

—Rosy Nimroody  
Council on Economic Priorities  
New York, N.Y.

## Rating Credit

We at the Professionals' Coalition were very disappointed to see that in your recent story titled "Running With The PACs" (May-June '86) you failed to give important credit to our co-authors of the "Candidate's Briefing Book," the Council for a Livable World. The Council has been the creator of the briefing book project and we were excited to be able to work with them to create a 1986 edition.

—Richard Mark  
Professionals' Coalition  
for Nuclear Arms Control  
Washington, D.C.

## Shift Into Neutral

Why *not* withdraw from Europe, as Thomas Powers suggests in "Intervention or Isolation" (May-June '86)? Why not agree with the Soviets to make Western Europe neutral? Switzerland, Finland and Austria have been neutral for years, why not the rest of Europe?

—Dai Circe  
Coachella Valley, Ca.

## W.C.

Porcelain water closets will be mysterious objects. It is doubtful if anything else material would survive a nuclear war. It would behoove us to build them with a little more imagination.

—W. Gorka  
Hamtramck, Mi.

## EDITOR'S NOTE

Last issue we introduced a new photography feature in the magazine, "Views From the Nuclear World," by Robert Del Tredici, a longtime contributor to NUCLEAR TIMES. This issue Del Tredici also contributes a photo for our Early Warnings section (page 6) and a six-part photo essay within our cover section. Del Tredici, who lives in Montreal, has been photographing aspects of the nuclear age for the past seven years. His first book was *The People of Three Mile Island*. Bob's next book, *At Work in the Fields of the Bomb*, will be published by Harper & Row in the fall of 1987. □

Send letters to the editor to NUCLEAR TIMES, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001.



# EARLY WARNINGS

## Give Them Shelter

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) has come up with a new civil defense plan, but it's not for everyone. FEMA's latest proposal, which is currently under review by other federal agencies, calls for 600 radiation-proof "emergency operating centers" to be in place by 1992, at a total cost of \$1.5 billion. The centers would be used to protect only government officials at the state and local level. Russell Clanahan, spokesman for FEMA, explained the agency's rationale for the plan to NUCLEAR TIMES: "You have to have a place to protect the leadership, the decision-makers, so that they will be able to continue the operation of state and local government after a nuclear attack."

The FEMA proposal, drafted at the request of the Senate and House Subcommittees on Civil Defense, does not appear to have the wholehearted support of even the country's emergency planning officials. Donald DeVito, president of the National Emergency Management Association, said that he and most of his colleagues would rather spend the money preparing for natural disasters such as hurricanes. "Better we do everything we can to prevent such an event [nuclear war] from occurring," DeVito said.

What provisions does the proposal make for the rest of the population? The latest draft, dated April 16, tells us that citizens need "to assume greater responsibility for their survival protection." To help us out, FEMA is recommending that the U.S. government buy 3.8 million radiation detectors for public use. Clanahan explained that the program would be "sort of a neighborhood watch expanded to nuclear emergencies and that sort of thing." □

## Private Detection

In an unexpected breakthrough, the Soviet Union has agreed to the establishment of seismic stations in both superpower nations to monitor underground nuclear tests. The unique compact is a private arrangement be-

tween the Soviet Union and the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), an environmental group that came up with the idea earlier this year. "We see this agreement as the most important private sector arms control initiative ever undertaken," said Adrian DeWind, the NRDC chairman who signed the agreement with E.P. Velikhov of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

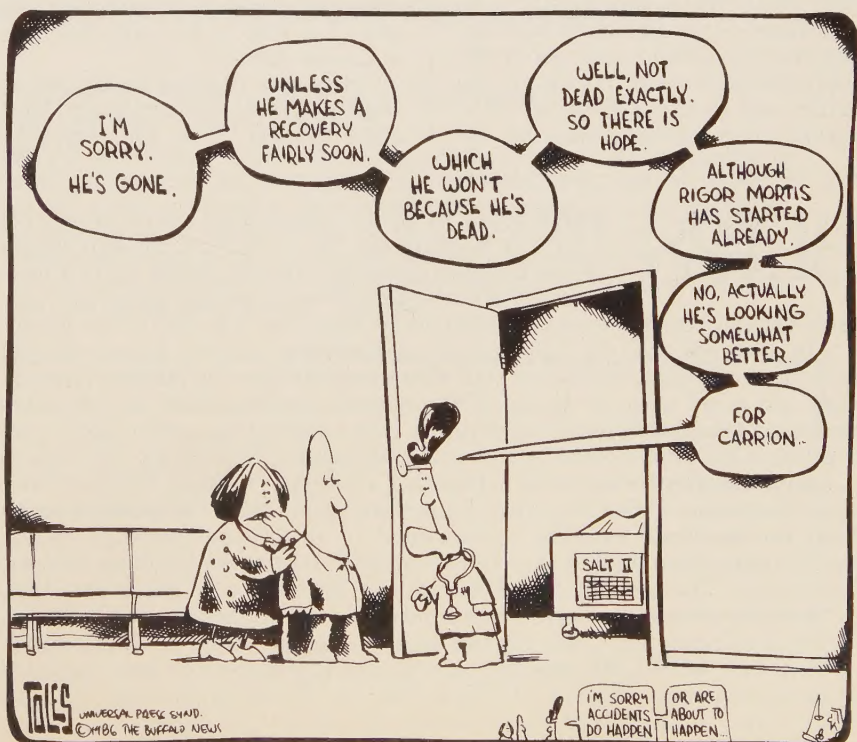
According to DeWind, NRDC's effort to raise the \$1.2 million cost of operating the seismic stations for the first 18 months is going "unexpectedly well." Under the arrangement, NRDC planned to send three seismologists from the University of California to the Semipalatinsk test site in early summer and the Soviets will field three scientists in Nevada; the seismic data will then be freely available in both countries. The U.S. government has long argued that Soviet opposition to on-site monitoring has stood in the way of arms control measures such as a comprehensive test ban.

While the pact is not a government-to-government agreement, the Reagan Administration has not raised any objections to it. NRDC is hopeful that the Soviets' interest

bodes well for greater trust in verifying arms agreements. "The acceptance of this demonstration-scale monitoring plan suggests that this program could be expanded to verify a comprehensive test ban," said DeWind. Eugene Golovko, first secretary of the Soviet mission to the United Nations, was more guardedly optimistic. "Personally, I think that the agreement may not make the desire of the Reagan Administration to prohibit nuclear tests any greater," he said. "But," he added, "it relays to your public that the Soviet Union can be dealt with on issues of verification." □

## Downing SDI

Joining a chorus of anti-Star Wars scientists, some 1500 researchers currently or formerly affiliated with nuclear weapons labs such as Lawrence Livermore, Los Alamos, and Bell have called an all-embracing peace shield an unrealizable "dream." In their "Open Letter to Congress," the scientists charged that the levels of SDI funding are high compared to the level of policy scrutiny, and that





# EARLY WARNINGS

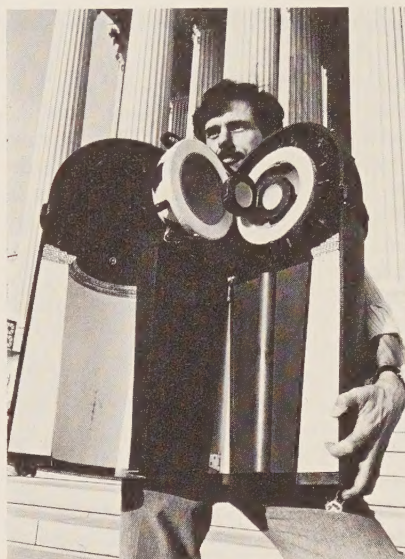
Congress should "limit funding to a scale appropriate to exploratory research."

When they presented their letter to the Senate in mid-June, those scientists joined more than 3700 science and engineering professors and researchers at the nation's top universities in speaking out against Star Wars. The university scientists have pledged to boycott Star Wars research funds. □

## Box Office Bomb

Howard Morland wrote the infamous 1979 *Progressive* magazine article about how the H-bomb works, and a book, *The Secret That Exploded*, which describes the government's unsuccessful attempts to block the article's publication. The bomb in the new movie, *The Manhattan Project*, starring John Lithgow, was patterned after a full-scale model which Morland built for his use on the college lecture circuit. He is now military budget coordinator of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy in Washington, D.C. Morland's reaction to the film, and his recent conversation with its director, Marshall Brickman, follow:

"*The Manhattan Project* is exactly the kind of movie I was hoping somebody would make. It's a movie about The Bomb—not about the horrible effects of exploding it, but about the subtle fascinations of putting it together and thinking about it. As a nation, that's precisely what we do



Morland and Bomb: A film classic

with it. We use it to impress people, especially ourselves, and we imagine that it protects us and makes us special.

"In Marshall Brickman's film a high school student steals five pounds of plutonium and makes an atomic bomb for a science fair. He regards it as an innocent prank. When the G-men line him up in their sharpshooter scopes, he uses his bomb for deterrence, just like we all do, initially ignoring the thousands of innocent bystanders placed at risk. That part seems to trouble some critics. The hero of the story becomes a nuclear terrorist.

"Brickman says that audiences get the point even if critics don't: 'They cheer the kid. They feel sympathy

for him because he's gotten into a situation which they identify with. We're manufacturing these things and we're playing foreign policy that has to do with threatening to destroy the world if we can't get our way.'

"It has a few silly moments. But the technical parts that really matter are quite realistic. The components of The Bomb are the right size, shape, and texture, and the basic elements of the production process are depicted as correctly as one could hope for in a film that moves fast enough to keep the audience interested. Could a real terrorist see this movie and build a bomb? Not without five pounds of plutonium. As the story makes clear, if we don't want 'unauthorized' people building A-bombs, we had better not leave plutonium lying around." □

## Bishops Say No To Deterrence

On or before September 14 every United Methodist congregation in the country will hear from the pulpit an unqualified "no" to nuclear deterrence and other aspects of our nuclear policy. With 9.4 million members, the United Methodist Church is the third largest church organization in the United States. In its pastoral letter and 100-page "Foundation Document," both entitled "In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace," the United Methodist Council of Bishops calls, in addition, for a comprehensive test ban.

As an alternative to deterrence, the bishops suggest "an ethic of reciprocity" leading to the elimination of all nuclear weapons and a renewed commitment to strengthening multilateral institutions in order to mediate conflict and redistribute global resources. The Methodist statement, which also urges its members, including "scientists, engineers, and other workers involved in defense . . . to confront questions of conscience," takes a stronger stand against U.S. nuclear policy than did the 1983 Catholic Bishops' pastoral letter or the fall 1985 Episcopal report, both of which give conditional acceptance to deterrence.

Holly Wells, a staff assistant for the Council of Bishops, says that the committee acted because "the bishops didn't want to see the issue ghetto-ized into the Peace-nik movement." Wells added that the state-

## BLIPS

**SANE** hopes to hold a three-tiered event November 15-19 in Washington, D.C. to mark the anniversary of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, made up of a mass demonstration against Reagan foreign policy, a "citizens' summit" conference and a rock concert featuring U.S. and Soviet groups . . . It turns out that the ABC miniseries **Amerika**, about a Soviet takeover of the United States, which now stars **Kris Kristofferson** and **Mariel Hemingway** and is set to air in spring 1987, was not the brainchild of ABC chief **Brandon Stoddard** (as the network has long claimed) but rather right-wing columnist and former Nixon speechwriter **Ben Stein** (the network now admits) . . . **Mobilization for Survival** is planning a national Weapons Facilities Network Conference in San Francisco, September 13 and 14 . . . **Business Executives for National Security** has launched an advertising campaign calling public attention to the \$44 billion that was built into recent Pentagon budgets for inflation "that never occurred" (the money has since gone unaccounted for) . . . **Senator Steven Symms**, Republican of Idaho, commenting on Chernobyl in *The Washington Post*: "It's too bad it didn't happen closer to the Kremlin" . . . The first armed **MX missile** to be deployed was lowered into a refitted Minuteman silo at Warren Air Force Base in Wyoming in June. The Air Force hopes to have 10 MX's armed and on alert by December.



ment will create a "synergistic effect" among religious groups in the country.

In addition to the letter and foundation document, the Bishops have made available a companion study guide designed for use in discussion groups. Also available are two videotapes on the Methodists' nuclear stance. For the pastoral letter and foundation document (\$3.25) or study guide (\$1.95) call 1 (800) 672-1789. For the videos call 1 (800) 251-4091. ☐

## Magnum Opus

Opus, the big-nosed penguin star of the Bloom County comic strip, recently received an initial \$900 million in Star Wars research funds and will "continue to receive funds for the project, unlimited funds," despite having squandered cash on herding and other penguin peccadilloes, says cartoonist Berke Breathed.

Speaking from his office near Denver, Breathed promised that Opus will continue to lavishly expend Star Wars funds in Bloom County, which began ridiculing the project this spring. "Nothing is more



**Cartoonist Breathed: SDI's comical**

silly than Star Wars; it's just been a favorite bugaboo of mine," says Breathed, whose strip, which runs in about 700 newspapers, is the fastest growing comic of the 1980s.

## Pier Review

When the Senate Armed Services Committee in May failed to accept the Navy's plan to send nuclear-capable warships to new bases on the East, West and Gulf coasts, antinuclear activists seemed to have won a major battle in the war against strategic homeporting. At that time,

an unlikely grouping of conservative and mainstream members of the Senate committee refused to endorse the plan for homeporting cruise missile-carrying battleships, aircraft carriers, and some 60 other warships in over a dozen U.S. cities.

Behind-the-scenes pressure from Navy officials, however, led to a June reversal of the Senate committee's vote. The key turnaround involved former Navy Secretary and now Republican senator from Virginia, John Warner. Warner changed sides in June, after promises from Navy officials that the existing homeport in Norfolk, Virginia, would gain funds for maintenance work. Warner's refusal was enough to pave the way for the release of \$79 million to begin construction of new bases at Staten Island, New York, and Everett, Washington. The proposal awaits final judgment on the floor of the House and Senate in July.

As the debate on homeporting goes on, however, the Navy faces new obstacles. The General Accounting Office has raised a stir in Congress over its June report that concludes the Navy has underestimated the costs of homeporting and has failed to give sufficient strategic justification for the plan. ☐

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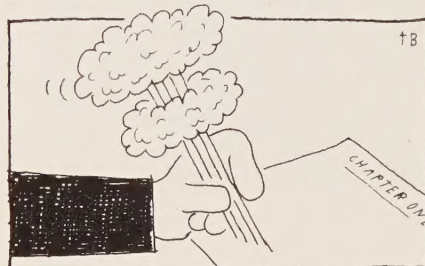
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# NUCLEAR CULTURE

**R**emember when the freeze movement was in full force? A crucial part of it all was the important non-fiction books on the nuclear arms race, like Jonathan Schell's *The Fate of the Earth* and Robert Scheer's *With Enough Shovels*. The popular success of some of these books, and the tenor of the time, convinced the publishing world there was an audience for serious considerations of nuclear policy.



Apparently, the rise of antinuclear sentiment also inspired a number of fiction writers, but the results arrived only recently. In the past few months, several novels have been published—by well-established authors (Tim O'Brien's *The Nuclear Age*), and newcomers (Vikram Seth's *The Golden Gate*)—that all try to depict a piece of the nuclear dilemma. And novelist A.G. Mojtabei has just produced a non-fiction book, *Blessed Assurance: At Home With the Bomb in Amarillo, Texas*. Unfortunately, the results are often not very inspiring.

Martin Cruz Smith, author of the best-seller *Gorky Park*, has followed up that blockbuster with *Stallion Gate* (Random House). Here Smith gives us Sergeant Joe Pena, a jazz-playing, boxing Indian with a penchant for sleeping with officers' wives, and assigns him as driver to J. Robert Oppenheimer at Los Alamos. Smith never makes up his mind as to where the novel is heading. Is it a tale of intrigue? An adventure story? Is it a contemplation of life at the edge of the Nuclear Age? Smith gives us little to chew on. A true account of what transpired at Los Alamos as Trinity approached would almost have to be more interesting.

*Rare Earth* (Doubleday), Mary Lee Grisanti's first novel, is more directly inspired by the antinuclear movement. Its hero is Anna Khameneva, wife of a Soviet dissident *a la* Andrei Sakharov. After writing a *samizdat* novella depicting post-nuclear holocaust conditions in the Soviet Union, the KGB asks her—not too politely—to leave the country. In the United States, she is

supported by a conservative foundation, romances a cynical and left-leaning journalist (who happens to be the son of the director of the foundation) and becomes a powerful symbol and moral force for the antinuclear movement. In doing so, she is accused of being a KGB agent. Anna is brought to trial.

Unfortunately, the television miniseries aspects of the tale dominate any serious consideration of the politics of reaction and their relation to both the movement and individual commitment. So when the verdict is read, it hardly comes as a surprise. Much more impressive is Anna's novella, which is interspersed throughout the narrative.

The best book of this lot is *Hiroshima Joe* (The Atlantic Monthly Press), a British bestseller by the poet and anthologist Martin Booth. *Hiroshima Joe*, a down-at-the-heels petty criminal suffering the effects of radiation poisoning in Hong Kong in 1952 was once Lieutenant Joe Sandingham of the British Army. Captured by the Japanese, he suffered a series of Job-like trials, culminating in confinement at a prisoner of war camp outside Hiroshima.

Though *Hiroshima Joe* becomes a murderer and a pederast as he descends further into his despair, he remains an oddly sympathetic character, for he has witnessed the highest imaginable misfortune. All the misery of his years pales in comparison to what he sees in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. And he simply is never able to rise above that.

Seven years after the Bomb, *Hiroshima Joe* is engaged in an inner struggle. He is an atomic survivor, but without any belief, nothing to hold on to. He realizes he is in a descent. What redemption is there for such a witness?

Of all these books, only Booth's is successful in both engaging us and exploring the question of the Bomb's impact on us all. The others are rather easily dismissed, causing one to wonder if the entire subject is indeed beyond the powers of most fiction writers. We can readily debate and chronicle various nuclear strategies, the merits or drawbacks of different weapons, and the politics of the arms race. But how do we respond in fiction to the fundamental fact of our times? This current crop of novels shows just how difficult that is. But Booth's *Hiroshima Joe* and some other successes—like Russell Hoban's *Riddley Walker* for one—show that novelists should keep on trying.

—David Corn



# Administration Spills SALT

*Congress moves to undo damage*

BY DAVID HALPERIN

**S**ALT II negotiator Paul Warnke had a simple explanation for the Reagan Administration's decision to scrap the agreement. "The nuts have won," he said. Gerard Smith, who negotiated SALT I, charged that the Administration was abandoning arms control "in hopes of achieving superiority."

"It seems to me," Smith said at an Arms Control Association press conference, "that this decision leaves us with Congress as the sole protector of the case for arms control." It seemed the same way to Washington activists and to a growing number of members of Congress, too.

Despite some confusion about whether or not the United States will actually exceed the SALT II ceiling (*see sidebar, page 10*), Reagan's May 27 announcement that the United States was no longer bound by "the SALT structure" has moved the SALT issue into the center of this summer's military budget battle on Capitol Hill. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, the clear winner in the Administration's internal struggle over SALT policy, has already warned Congress against meddling in SALT matters. "Either the Congress will stand with the Administration . . . or the Congress will stand with the Soviets," said Perle, echoing White House Communications Director Patrick Buchanan's infamous statements on Nicaragua.

SALT proponents in Congress were undeterred. They launched a two-step strategy to reverse Reagan's decision: a non-binding resolution in each house urging adherence to be followed, if the Administration remained intransigent, by a rider on the defense authorization bill that would force the President to observe the key SALT II sublimits unless Reagan certified that the Soviet Union had exceeded them.

Peace groups, although long-ambivalent about an arms agreement that permits massive arsenals, are making SALT II a top priority. A compelling criticism of the unratified treaty was that its high force ceilings legitimized the planned buildups of each side through its expiration date of December 31, 1985. But in



Warnke, Smith and Robert McNamara ask Congress to back SALT

1986, SALT II is becoming more of a constraint on U.S. and Soviet weapons programs as each side bumps up against some of its most important limits.

Another appeal of SALT II is that the treaty's ceilings provide a baseline for deep cuts. Warnke suggested how adherence could promote Reagan's professed goal of reductions: "Supposing for example that rather than scrapping SALT we Reaganized it . . . take the various ceilings and subceilings and agree with the Soviets on annual reductions of 10 percent."

Prior to Reagan's announcement, 221 representatives and 54 senators—a majority of each house—had written to the President urging him to stay in compliance with SALT. Twenty-five senators signed a letter advocating that the agreement be junked. With those numbers as a preliminary indication of support, pro-SALT forces—led by, among others, the Federation of American Scientists, SANE, and Council for a Livable World—plotted a legislative strategy.

## IN A BIND

On June 19 the House, by a vote of 256 to 145, passed a nonbinding resolution calling on Reagan to "adhere to the nu-

merical sublimits of the SALT agreements as long as the Soviet Union does likewise." The resolution covered only the SALT sublimits because of concern about losing the vote on the "Soviet violations" issues. One of the Administration's charges is that the Soviets have exceeded SALT II's limit on *total* strategic missiles and bombers, but no one has claimed that the Soviets have violated the sublimits: 820 MIRVed ICBMs, 1200 MIRVed ICBMs and sea-launched missiles, and 1320 MIRVed missiles and strategic bombers equipped with air-launched cruise missiles.

The status of nonbinding legislation in the Republican-dominated Senate remained uncertain as NUCLEAR TIMES went to press. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chair Richard Lugar managed to keep his committee from taking up a SALT resolution, sending Senators Dale Bumpers, Patrick Leahy, John Chafee and John Heinz in search of a vehicle on which to attach pro-SALT language.

While a large number of senators were expected to back the nonbinding effort, less are expected to stick to these views later this month when it comes to cutting off funds for weapons that put the United



States over the SALT ceilings. Few Republicans appeared enthusiastic about binding SALT legislation sponsored by Senators Joseph Biden, a Democrat, and William Cohen, a Republican.

Hope for *binding* restraints, therefore, appeared to hinge on a July win in the House, where Representative Norm Dicks' binding bill has about 150 cosponsors and the Democratic leadership appears ready to fight. House conferees would then have to prevail in the House-Senate conference committee on the authorization bill.

If pro-SALT forces are defeated in that phase, they will try again on the appropriations bill in August. In the event pro-Administration conferees in the Senate accept binding SALT language, they are likely to demand compensation—perhaps increased funding for Star Wars (which otherwise faces substantial cuts).

The measure would then go to Reagan's desk and the President would be faced with the choice of accepting Congress' SALT verdict or vetoing the entire defense bill.

#### PASSING ON SALT?

Although tying Reagan's hands on the SALT II sublimits would constitute a major arms control victory, the SALT regime might remain in peril. The violations controversy and legal considerations preclude pro-SALT forces from trying to legislate other important elements of the agreement. These include the ceilings on the number of warheads per missile and on the number of missile-carrying submarines; the bans on constructing new missile silos or testing new ICBMs; and the prohibition on deliberate concealment from technical means of verification. Administration hardliners, if prevented by Congress from going beyond the sublimits, might advocate intentional violations of some of these provisions, which could provoke the Soviets into similar actions.

Pro-SALT lobbyists and legislators, however, will worry about this later. Their objective now is to get the SALT legislation passed. But unless the public, which has remained indifferent to SALT II's fate, demands U.S. adherence, the Administration is likely to have its way on SALT eventually. Martin Hamburger, who runs the Council for a Livable World-affiliated PeacePac, believes that if and when the Administration's SALT decision leads both sides to break out of the treaty limits, Republicans will suffer at the polls. "If the right wing wins out, Reagan has handed an issue to the Democrats," Hamburger said. "There's no way you can claim you're a peace candidate if you've just ripped arms control to shreds." □

## SANE/FREEZE Unity Talks

BY ALEX MILLER

"Saint Paul said, 'If a trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who will get ready?'" says Nick Carter, a Baptist minister and co-chair of the Commission for Freeze/SANE unity. To make the trumpet sound more clearly, national leaders of SANE and the Freeze Campaign recently established a panel to explore the possibility of merging the two groups, or establishing a broader federation involving other groups. The panel sent a letter to 400 local groups asking for comments, and by mid-June the commission office in Acton, Massachusetts had received 50 replies, 90 percent of them favoring the "unity" proposal.

Several SANE members who responded, however, said they feared that their local autonomy and broad political agenda might be compromised. Some Freeze activists worry about concentrating too much decision-making and political activity in Washington, D.C. The majority of respondents, however, favored the unity move without reservation, often adding that their local Freeze or SANE chapter had voted unanimously in sup-

port of the effort.

One of the four committees formed by the commission is in charge of local outreach, and commission members have organized meetings between state and local organizers. Freeze and SANE chapters in Maryland and New Jersey, among other states, have already started working together closely. Local and national organizers alike seem determined to not let the discussions get too far ahead of the grass-roots constituencies. The Freeze Campaign's decision to lay off several of its national staff due to budget problems in June underscored the need for peace groups to maintain a steady grass-roots funding base, observers note.

The commission, which receives fundraising assistance from the Peace Development Fund and includes as members directors of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament and NUCLEAR TIMES (as well as local and national SANE and Freeze leaders) has also formed committees to examine structure and work on a statement of purpose. It hopes to receive written proposals from each of the committees by early fall and draw up a unity plan by December. "The [proposal] is a leap of faith on my part," says David Cortright, executive director of SANE. "It's now up to the local groups to decide what they're willing to go forward with. The commission is certainly not going to impose any plan or process on them." □

## Future SALT

President Reagan's announcement on SALT II was unambiguous: the United States would no longer base its force decisions on "the SALT structure" and as a result would violate the agreement this fall by equipping the 131st B-52 bomber with air-launched cruise missiles (ALCMs) without dismantling compensating systems. The Air Force has been converting roughly two B-52s per month to cruise missile carriers, and the 131st is scheduled for November or December. But subsequent statements suggest that SALT may have a life after death.

Faced with the prospect of a Washington summit meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, Reagan could retreat and, despite his repudiation of SALT, remain in—or quickly return to—technical compliance. The United States could dismantle another aging Poseidon submarine—like the two Reagan retired last month, allegedly for economic reasons—about the time the 131st bomber is converted. Two Poseidons are scheduled for overhaul

this fall.

To deflect charges that it has opened the door for an all-out arms race, the Administration is touting an alternative "restraint" regime based on Reagan's pledge not to exceed the Soviets in *total strategic delivery vehicles* (missiles plus bombers) and in *ballistic missile warheads*. But the President's vow is essentially meaningless since the Soviet lead in each of those categories would be almost impossible to surmount in the Reagan years. And the President has said nothing about the U.S. lead in *total strategic warheads and bombs*. The new restraint regime appears aimed at soothing the American public. Moscow is unlikely to be fooled.

The Administration's assault on SALT II, coming on the heels of repeated rebuffs of Soviet arms control initiatives, raises serious implications for U.S.-Soviet relations and the peace movement's work on arms control issues. "It doesn't seem to me," says SALT II negotiator Paul Warnke, "that telling [the Soviets] that arms control is dead is going to encourage them to be forthcoming in arms control."

—D.H.



# Non-PAC Election Work

*Is taking issues enough?*

BY DAVID WOFFORD

**T**he recent Senate primary victory in Pennsylvania by Representative Bob Edgar, who received money and manpower from peace PACs nationwide, has buoyed the spirits of electoral activists. The Edgar campaign also epitomizes the change in movement strategy from 1984. This year activists will not gauge success primarily by the stances candidates take on arms control issues. Instead "winning" will mean showing candidates that peace groups have a credible base among their constituencies, which the office holders can count on not only for votes at the polls, but also for support when they take tough stands on arms control issues in Congress.

"Where is the battle won and lost?" asks Joe Sternlieb, national field director of Freeze Voter. "Eighty percent of Americans want an end to the arms race. What does it matter if 80 percent agrees if the Senate won't do anything? Electing a pro-freeze candidate is more important than forcing the freeze issue [in a campaign] and then losing."

Edgar, a leader in arms control, for instance, stressed jobs in his successful primary campaign, which was nevertheless called a "bellwether" for peace candidacies nationwide. "Absent the support of the freeze community, Edgar would not have won, period," says Chip Reynolds, national director of Freeze Voter. Reynolds claims that Edgar was able to win by three percentage points without the support of Democratic party leadership because peace groups helped him to mobilize volunteers and create a strong organization.

Electing candidates, and establishing their dependence on peace groups (and thereby gaining access to them once in office) is the goal, organizers agree. Nevertheless, many groups are raising arms control issues in campaigns wherever and however possible.

Though PACs draw nearly all the media attention, nonpartisan electoral work, such as voter registration and education drives, candidate briefings, and training sessions, allows groups and individuals to complement PAC work and help affect elections. This year nonpartisan groups are making their presence felt in the electoral arena



**JwP organizer: Filling a vacuum**

by mounting voter registration drives that carefully target people who are likely to support peace issues and candidates. Most groups, therefore, are focusing on the poor, minorities, and women because they have borne the brunt of military spending through budget cuts in social services.

Apart from its PAC activities, SANE is planning to run registration drives in key congressional districts in Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia. In North Carolina, SANE has found that military spending worries more than just the poor. The Council for Children, an advocacy group in Charlotte, contacted SANE recently, expressing interest in working together.

"For a centrist group worried about children to be in touch with us," says Norris Frederick, executive director of North Carolina SANE, "is quite a change. They must be seeing the connections and feeling the impact of military spending."

SANE chapters nationwide will be publicizing its major themes—military spending and a test ban—through candidate forums and literature distribution. And activists believe that Reagan's abandonment of SALT II plays into their hands. "Star Wars puts us on the defensive," says Jerry Hartz, director of legislation for SANE in Washington, D.C. "With the throwing out of SALT II and the ABM treaty, we have a chance to regain the moral high ground. Our job in the elections is to get [the moral] points across."

The Women's Vote Project has carefully selected states with large groups of unre-

gistered, low income women, such as North Carolina, Maryland, Missouri and California. Local chapters of the Project's 76 national supporting organizations, including Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) and Peace Links, will use curriculum packages and motivational videotape training sessions.

Such training is included in two conferences on arms control—one aimed at women, the other, minorities—planned by Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN) and Women for a Meaningful Summit. "The emphasis," CAN Director Karen Mulhauser says, "is to bring in grassroots people new to the peace movement to learn about arms control in the hopes that they will go home and get involved in elections, and get others involved, too."

Another major registration effort that focuses on the poor, Project Vote, is targeting 10 states with close Senate races, including Missouri, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina.

But some activists are skeptical of the value of nonpartisan voter registration, and nonpartisan election work in general. They warn that voter registration can backfire, pointing to past drives that served to invigorate the often better-organized efforts of conservative groups. And new voters, if not carefully targeted, they caution, may end up voting the "wrong" way. Organizers also cite statistics showing that people who register on their own usually vote, whereas those who are registered by others more often than not do not get to the polls.

"It wasn't until hard money came into the picture," says one veteran peace movement electoral organizer, "that the arms control movement began to be perceived as a serious player. That's what the movement needs to focus on. Voter registration drives and voter education have marginal impact on the elections, and little or no impact on influencing candidates in post-election periods."

The need to complement voter registration with permanent organizations that will inform and mobilize voters (and thus influence office holders) is being addressed by a new project implemented by the Jobs with Peace Campaign (JwP).

In five test cities—Los Angeles, Boston, Baltimore, Milwaukee, and Pittsburgh—JwP is organizing precinct networks, primarily in poor neighborhoods, where key supporters will do election work. Focusing on JwP issues such as reordering budget priorities and the effect of SDI on the economy, these supporters would organize ongoing registration and activist recruitment drives, literature distribution, and public forums.

Frank Clemente, program director of JwP in Washington, D.C., says these



networks will fill an organizational vacuum that currently frees politicians from accountability after elections. PACs and other organizations come into elections like "invading armies," he says, whose structures disappear after an election. Grass-roots support for candidates thereby comes with few real strings attached. JwP hopes to register more than 75,000 voters overall, targeting states like Pennsylvania, California, and Wisconsin, where it has strong organizations.

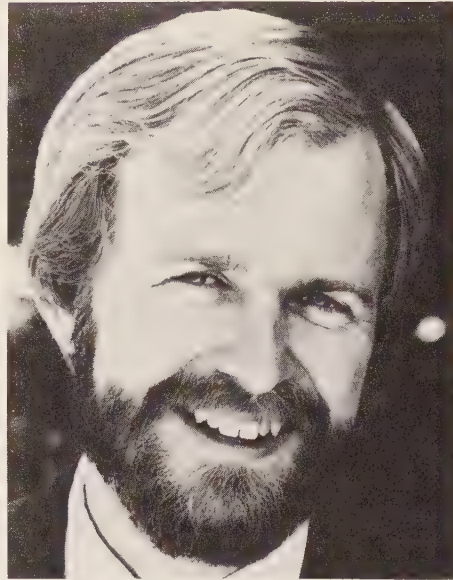
### RAISING ISSUES

Within the constraints of nonpartisanship, groups can best use their resources, many activists claim, by training people in electoral work and educating voters on movement issues. With this in mind, the Freeze Campaign is working with SANE and WAND in a joint training program, slotted for Texas and Atlanta, Georgia, in which people are taught such political skills as how to organize candidate forums and work with the media. And the Freeze Voter Education Fund (FVEF), formed in 1985 as a nonpolitical, nonpartisan organization independent of Freeze Voter, has been holding conferences in Vermont, Colorado, Idaho, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin to educate grass-roots activists on a range of electoral skills, including phone banking and voter registration.

So much for skills—what about the movement's issues? For the FVEF, the message this year is security, and so the group is busy developing educational materials that describe the national security benefits of a freeze. Organizers plan to get this message out to the public by training local activists to explain the national security argument to candidates, and then urge the office-seekers to use it whenever the subject of a freeze comes up.

"It's called 'message development,'" Joe Sternlieb says, "and it's very efficient, since candidates can reach the press and the public in far greater numbers than individual activists or groups can." Still, it can be difficult for 501 (c)(3) groups to tackle message development, since they must present a "balanced line" to candidates of all political persuasions, which precludes developing the more intimate, one-on-one relationships with candidates that PACs enjoy. "If a candidate knows that you're going to be sitting down with everyone else in the field and saying the same thing, you're not going to be taken as seriously as a group that's working exclusively with one candidate," cautions the leader of one movement PAC.

The message WAND is pushing this election appears as the title of a handbook the group is distributing to grass-roots



**SANE's Frederick: Budget is key**

activists and peace groups: "The Choice is Ours." The choice, according to WAND organizers, is between continuing the arms race or focusing resources on "quality of life" issues in America, which include support for housing, child care and the environment. "This election year is an opportunity to make the choice clear to the public, the President, and the Congress," says Mary Jo Kaplan, field director for WAND.

Other nonpartisan groups are making the most of their members' clout in the community. The Professionals' Coalition, which coordinates the work of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS), the Lawyers' Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control (LANAC), and Architects, Designers, and Planners for Social Responsibility (ADPSR), is encouraging its members to form teams made up of representatives from all four professional groups to brief candidates and their staffs on nuclear issues, especially SALT II, SDI, a CTB, and the ABM treaty.

"The briefing team is a tool to get members more active politically," says Ann Krumboltz, field coordinator of UCS. Organizers also hope it will build strong working relationships between peace professionals and politicians.

Members acknowledge that briefing teams suit the relative conservatism of professionals, who are less likely to join in more gritty grass-roots election work. The New York Chapter of ADPSR, for example, has set up teams composed of representatives from six professional groups that are slotted for work in 18 congressional districts.

In addition, LANAC members are meeting with television and newspaper editorial boards to inform—and perhaps

even sway—their opinions on nuclear issues. The central Maryland chapter of LANAC recently set up a debate that allowed a panel of lawyers to use their questioning skills to provoke candid responses on arms control topics from Senate candidates.

The League of Women Voters Education Fund is also sponsoring a series of debates, called the "Agenda for Security" project, in 63 congressional and 22 senatorial races, including Alabama, California, and Pennsylvania.

Despite this plethora of solid nonpartisan activity, many organizers suggest that activists' key role is encouraging people to donate their time and money to partisan work for candidates. By training activists, building up-to-date lists of volunteers and making them available to PACs, raising issues in voters' minds, and briefing candidates, groups can stay within the bounds of nonpartisanship and still help elect peace candidates.

With a narrow arms control majority in the House—and a chance to gain such an advantage in the Senate—at stake in this election, activists view the outlook as promising. Another recent development, besides Edgar's victory, has oddly raised hopes.

"SALT II is the biggest blunder the Administration has made yet," says Jerry Hartz of SANE. "It's a mom and apple pie issue that the American people care about." Adds Hartz, "Politicians will follow the American public's lead, as usual. And we have Americans on our side." □

## Test Ban Move

Although President Reagan's SALT decision opened up a new battle-front for Congress, some lawmakers and lobbyists continue to make a comprehensive test ban a major priority. "Are we going to let the Administration set the agenda for us?" Representative Ed Markey asked. "The test ban should not be relegated to the back seat." When the defense authorization bill goes to the House floor in mid- to late July, Markey and Representatives Pat Schroeder and Tom Downey will offer an amendment denying funds for nuclear explosive testing unless the President certifies that the Soviet Union has tested. Some test supporters envision fall-back language that might garner enough support to pass the House: a ban only on tests above one kiloton, with the level raised to 10 kilotons if the Soviets refused to accept on-site monitoring stations. The aim, according to one Hill aide, is to ensure that "there's no reason to defeat this amendment on verification grounds." □



# Legacy of Chernobyl

## *Inside Nuclear America*

BY HOWARD KOHN

**T**he essential nature of the antinuclear cause was revealed one day in 1954 in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. Twenty-three fishermen who had set sail from Japan aboard the *Lucky Dragon* passed within 100 miles of a U.S. military test site on the Marshall Islands. It was the morning of the explosion of the bomb called Bravo, the first of the great thermonuclear devices, 15 megatons, built of steel and uranium—a grownup piece of nuclear science. No one thought to warn the *Lucky Dragon* fishermen. They were a long distance away, so far they couldn't be spotted with the strongest binoculars.

All 23 had to be hospitalized nonetheless with acute radiation sickness, and one man, Aikichi Kuboyama, died in the hospital. In a book about the incident, nuclear physicist Ralph Lapp wrote, "The true sticking power of the atom was revealed on the decks of the *Lucky Dragon*. When a man a hundred miles from an explosion can be killed by the silent touch of the bomb, the world suddenly becomes too small a sphere for men to clutch the atom."

As a point of view, and as an identifiable movement of everyday people, not just scientists, arms control began with the common fear that radioactive fallout, even in peacetime, could reach out and touch someone, and that fear is the common thread in antinuclear history—from Bravo to Three Mile Island to Chernobyl—that links the arms control and antinuclear power movements.

To be sure, the Bomb is what scares people the most, and since 1956 there has been American opposition to it that can be said legitimately to be a movement. As much as anyone, Adlai Stevenson made it so. Campaigning for president in 1956, he again and again kissed babies who, he said, had to drink milk poisoned with Iodine-131 and Strontium-90 from aboveground nuclear tests.

With Stevenson's defeat it was expected

the opposition would fade away. President Eisenhower had launched the Atoms-for-Peace program and appointed Edward Teller to head up Operation Plowshares. The nuclear projects—generating electricity, dredging harbors, and so forth—were, in part, meant to win public support for nuclear weapons testing. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) officials, discussing strategy at top-secret sessions that have since been declassified, spoke about a "prop-

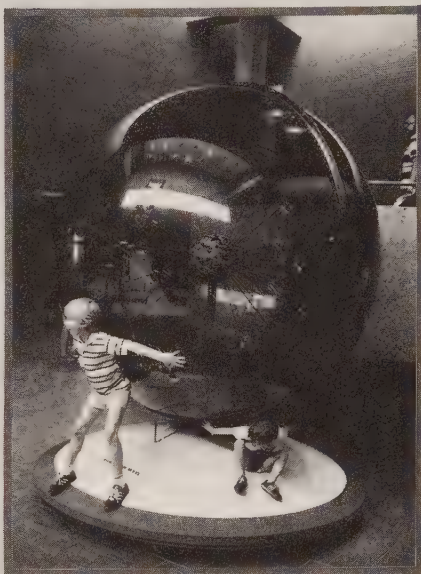
public there was a sense that the arms control movement had achieved all it reasonably could.

Between 1963 and 1979 opposition to nuclear weapons and nuclear power was not much in evidence on the national level, although a number of locally-based groups were active, sometimes successfully, in campaigns against new power plants—the most famous, perhaps, being the Clamshell Alliance's drive against Seabrook in New Hampshire. The arms control movement existed, where it existed at all, at the grass roots, most notably in efforts against the Rocky Flats weapons factory in Colorado.

It was not until the Three Mile Island nuclear reactor accident in 1979 that, once again, radiation dread seemed mad-deningly and universally on the loose in The United States. In 1981 the Reagan Administration's nuclear war-fighting rhetoric and extravagant weapons budget did for the arms control movement what Three Mile Island had done for the anti-power movement, putting it back on the front pages. And now from Chernobyl there is new evidence that atomic fission in any form and at any time, not only in wartime, can strike the innocent—evidence that both movements are taking as justification for their existence.

With a few exceptions—the Palmetto Alliance's cross-country caravan from South Carolina to a 1978 Rocky Flats sit-in, the critical role of Mothers for Peace in the Diablo Canyon campaign—the two movements to date have operated as if oblivious to the circular relationship of nuclear weapons and nuclear energy. It would be unfair to say that the two movements have been at odds, although they do compete to a significant extent for donations of time and money and for media attention. Whether by quirks of fate, or arguably because there are not enough hours and dollars and headlines to go around, the two movements have never really been in the limelight at the same time.

What next? Will the two movements coexist more meaningfully? That may be an optimistic sentiment, but Chernobyl has again made the world smaller with less and less room for differences. □



**1. URANIUM ATOM**  
Model at the Oak Ridge  
Science Museum, Tennessee.

aganda war" which required them to find "positive, wholesome things" to say about atomic fission.

Among antinuclear groups there was only token opposition to Atoms-for-Peace. But nothing could really make Americans forget the pictures of atomic clouds that appeared from Nevada month after month on television and in newspapers. In 1957 the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) was founded, and less than a year later it had 25,000 members. But in 1963 the two superpowers formally ended aboveground testing, and among the American

*Howard Kohn is director of the Center for Investigative Reporting in Washington, D.C. and author of Who Killed Karen Silkwood?*



# Linking The Unthinkable?

*Weapons and power groups remain divided*

BY GREGORY TOBIAS

For reasons both organizational and ideological, the movements against nuclear power and nuclear weapons have long been divided. But the response to the Chernobyl accident suggests to some that the old distinctions may no longer be tenable. The public has reacted to Chernobyl with some anti-Soviet sentiment but also with new fears concerning the dangers of radiation. Says Diane Aronson, executive director of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament: "People are definitely making the connections between nuclear power and nuclear weapons. The public does not tend to distinguish the two the way activists do."

But most activists are doubtful that Chernobyl will significantly increase cooperation between weapons and power groups. Beyond the rhetorical level, there is mutual sympathy, but few concrete plans for a convergence of the two movements.

Shortly after the Chernobyl disaster, for instance, a broad coalition of safe energy and environmental groups in Washington, D.C. issued a plea for a phase-out of nuclear power plants in the United States. Even though this demand was modest compared to the original call—an immediate shutdown—few peace organizations that did not already have nuclear power on their agendas signed on to it.

One national issue on which groups from the safe energy and arms control communities (as well as the environmental movement) are collaborating concerns the five aging nuclear weapons production reactors at the Savannah River Plant in South Carolina and the Hanford Reservation in the state of Washington (*see sidebar, following page*). More than 60 organizations, including Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), Public Citizen, Friends of the Earth and Mobilization for Survival, have signed a letter to President Reagan calling for a shutdown of the plants.

Most groups, however, are "using" Chernobyl mainly to support well-established campaigns. SANE, for example, will continue to focus on a nuclear test ban. According to Jerry Hartz, the group's director of legislation, Chernobyl

presents a golden opportunity for educating the public on the effects of radiation. Videotapes of SANE's recent "Chernobyl USA" citizens' hearing in Washington, D.C. will be used in local chapter events over the summer. "In the long run Chernobyl will raise public awareness," says Hartz. "We're hoping to tie that in to legislation to halt nuclear testing."

Similarly, the Federation of American Scientists (FAS) will refer to Chernobyl primarily to boost its efforts to achieve a

ment perspective that may not be necessary. And," he adds, "some people in the arms control community actually favor nuclear power."

Even PSR, whose former leader, Helen Caldicott, helped galvanize opposition to nuclear power plants in the late 1970s, is holding off from taking a strong stance against nuclear power in the wake of Chernobyl. The group has been highly visible since the accident, providing the media with medical experts on radiation exposure, holding press briefings and meeting with Soviet physicians and diplomats. But PSR has been careful to separate the issues of arms control and nuclear power. This, says PSR's assistant director of policy and legislation, Raoul Rosenberg, is simply a reaffirmation of long-standing group policy, a stance which was not shaken by Chernobyl despite appeals from some of its members. PSR will continue



## 2. URANIUM MINE

Red Rock Navajo Reservation, New Mexico. Ore is blasted out of the mountain by dynamite. The nuclear cycle, for both weapons and power, starts in caves like this, or in open-pit mines.

cutoff in the production of plutonium and weapons-grade uranium for nuclear weapons. David Albright, staff specialist with FAS, sees the fissile cutoff issue, and his own work against reprocessing plants, as potential links between nuclear power and disarmament activists, since almost any commercial reactor can produce plutonium that could be used for weapons. But, Albright warns, "The differences [between weapons and power groups] may be too great to bridge. The basic problem is a mismatch of goals. While one side wants to shut down all nuclear power plants, from a disarma-

ment perspective that may not be necessary. And," he adds, "some people in the arms control community actually favor nuclear power."

A national staff member of the Freeze Campaign in Washington, D.C. voiced a similar sentiment. "The bottom line for us is that Chernobyl will be a good rhetorical tool," the Freeze staffer said, "but it's not going to change our agenda or direction."

In many cases, such a shift is precluded not by lack of interest or desire but by organizational, political or funding constraints. "Most of our member groups



are probably on record against nuclear power," says Michael Ferber, disarmament coordinator of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. "But we're formed to take on foreign policy and military issues only." Ferber also points out that most Washington groups are "hidebound bureaucratic" and so oriented towards legislative issues on Capitol Hill that it is difficult for them to respond quickly to an international event like Chernobyl.

One group that did move swiftly is the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS). While UCS has always had a safe energy program, that side of its activities had been practically phased out in recent years with the rise of interest in arms control. But after Chernobyl the group's board met to reaffirm its nuclear power position. UCS intends to focus attention on several different classes of commercial reactors: eight reactors similar to the facility at Three Mile Island, and the 40 reactors with containment structures similar to Chernobyl.

A potential arms control link with Chernobyl is the way the accident, along with the Challenger explosion, demonstrates what UCS Executive Director Howard Ris calls the "non-infallibility" of high technology, and its implications for SDI. "We tested space technology, we tested nuclear power safety," says Ris, "and those systems have proven fallible. So what about a very complex system like SDI which can never be fully tested?"

While groups like UCS, Greenpeace and the Natural Resources Defense Council mix their own agendas well, this does not prove that single-issue nuclear power and nuclear weapons groups will necessarily collaborate closely. "They do work together but I'm not sure how much more they *can* work together," says Ris. "Different organizations just have different sets of priorities."

This is a common theme among activists in both movements. A spokesman for the Nuclear Information and Resource Service (NIRS), a leading safe energy group in Washington, D.C., says that the divisions between power and weapons groups are more matters of organization and finance than beliefs, and he sees a fair amount of cooperation. Nevertheless, NIRS is not going to begin stressing the weapons-power connection. "None of these things exist in a void," he says. "They're really flip sides of the same issue, but our purpose is to fight nuclear power plants, and we can't adequately do both with our limited staff and budget. Like many peace and disarmament groups, we are not very well-funded. There's only so much you can do."

Although organizers are trying to make connections between the two sides

more often than in the past, there has not been a sustained effort to interact, notes Joshua Gordon, a nuclear analyst with the Critical Mass Energy Project in Washington, D.C. There has been more communication, with some arms control people coming to safe energy meetings. "But we [safe energy activists] probably don't reach out to them as much as we should," says Gordon.

On the national level, then, the prospects for strong cooperation between weapons and power groups are unsettled. But at the grass roots, local groups of all persuasions have been joining in cooperative antinuclear efforts.

In Oregon, for example, Citizens for Nuclear-Free Oregon (CNFO) is a state-

wide PAC that works with Forelaws On Board, a nuclear power group, and Citizens' Action for Lasting Security (CALS), a disarmament group, to push for an economic conversion initiative in the state which would offer tax incentives to companies that produce nuclear weapons components to switch to other products. "What we have is a concrete example of interaction between weapons and power groups," says Peter Bergel of CALS. Other cooperative efforts include coalitions in Oregon and Washington organized in opposition to plutonium production and possible nuclear waste storage at Hanford, which involve environmentalists, churches, unions, and other local groups. □

## DOE Reactors: Chernobyl USA?

Following the Chernobyl accident, officials at the U.S. Department of Energy had to work hard to sustain a "can't happen here" message. At reservations in South Carolina and Washington state, DOE operates the nation's oldest collection of nuclear reactors to produce plutonium and tritium for nuclear warheads. Not only do these five "production" reactors lack reinforced containment structures comparable to those in place at commercial nuclear plants, but DOE facilities are conspicuously exempt from Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) licensing requirements and all other independent regulations.

"It's unfortunate that it takes a terrible accident for people to realize what the problem is," says Frances Hart of the South Carolina-based Energy Research Foundation. "It's clear you cannot expect them [DOE] to be self-critical. There are so many pressures on them, besides."

Those pressures, in a nutshell, are those imposed by the ongoing campaign to add thousands of nuclear warheads to the U.S. arsenal. The plutonium push, along with long-standing anxieties about secrecy and the lack of independent oversight, led to the formation of groups like the Hanford Education Action League in Washington state. Then came the accident at Chernobyl at a reactor whose design was remarkably similar to that of the Hanford Reservation's "N" reactor, the largest in a succession of graphite moderated reactors built along the Columbia River. Despite the obvious similarities (indeed, the construction trade journal *Engineering News-Record* reported in its May 8 edi-

tion that Chernobyl-4 was "modeled" after the "N" reactor), DOE spokesmen have steadfastly insisted since the accident that a similar event—a core meltdown, hydrogen explosion, and graphite fire—could not happen at Hanford.

That assertion is flatly rejected by many independent critics who, among other things, point to the fact that a hydrogen explosion and/or graphite fire are not even considered in the multi-volume safety analysis of the reactor commissioned by DOE. "If the emergency system fails to operate," physicist Thomas Cochran of the Natural Resources Defense Council told the House Subcommittee on Energy Conservation and Power, "a graphite fire and perhaps even a hydrogen explosion appear highly likely."

While the Hanford reactor was the focus of expert and activist attention because of its structural similarities to Chernobyl and recent operating problems, perhaps the most damaging blows to DOE's credibility and continued self-regulation were being delivered in South Carolina. Saying he could now speak "without fear of reprisal," Fred Christensen, a recently retired 26-year veteran nuclear safety engineer at the Savannah River Plant (SRP), told the *Charleston Post-Courier* of three "near catastrophic accidents" in the 1960s involving SRP reactors.

Christensen's revelations led to a call for NRC oversight at SRP from Representative Thomas Hartnett of South Carolina and a request from Senator Ernest Hollings that as part of a safety review of the four SRP reactors, DOE report on the "advisability" of NRC regulation.

—Tim Connor



# Sudden Burst Of Energy

*The nuclear power industry plots a comeback*

BY MICHAEL MARIOTTE

There has not been a single new reactor order since 1978 and every nuclear power plant ordered since 1974 has been cancelled. Nuclear power no longer turns on Wall Street. A *Forbes* magazine cover story last year termed the nuclear industry "the largest managerial disaster in business history." A *Washington Post* poll found, in the wake of Chernobyl, that 78 percent of the public opposes any new nuclear plant construction. But instead of mourning its demise, the nuclear industry is planning a counterattack and confidently forecasting that a new generation of reactors will be built in the 1990s. Encouraged by growing public support since Chernobyl, the safe energy movement is attempting to block industry's hopes for expansion.

Lando Zech, the new chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), recently predicted that 200 new power plants will be needed by the year 2000, and that "a significant portion" of those should be nuclear.

Nobody believes that Zech's fearless prediction will come true. For one thing, the industry simply isn't capable of building that many reactors that quickly. But Zech's bravado has been typical of the industry since its inception: overpromise and underperform.

Zech's promotional tendencies run exactly counter to the NRC's sole defined mission, which is to regulate nuclear power in order to protect the public's health and safety. Congress replaced the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) with the NRC in 1975 expressly because the AEC's responsibility to promote the use of nuclear power conflicted with its regulatory duties. But Zech, a retired vice admiral, is as relentless a promoter as the industry has developed yet.

Nuclear power proponents, much like Pentagon generals and defense contractors, believe in their product with an ideological fervor that sometimes borders on the fanatical. To them, problems like basic safety issues, waste disposal and spectacular costs merely await technical fixes. And if the first fixes don't work,

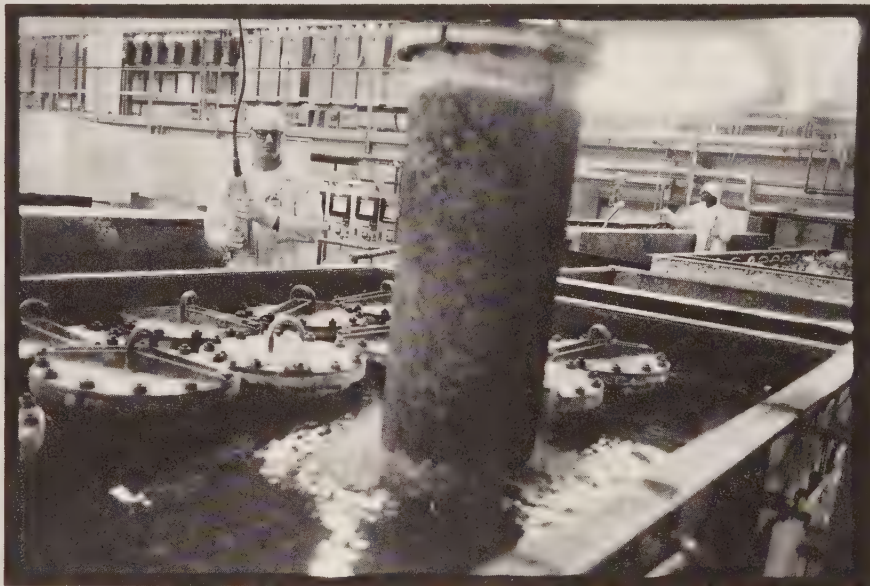
then they'll try another fix. Sooner or later, they promise, if the public would just get off their backs, they'll get it right.

In that sense, Zech, who assumed the NRC chair on July 1, is the industry's perfect point man as it prepares for a nuclear resurgence. Zech believes that the relationship between the NRC and the power industry has been overly "adversarial" in nature—a notion nuclear critics find flabbergasting—and he espouses at

ing an incoming freshman his college diploma."

Under the current licensing process, a utility first applies for a construction permit, and when the reactor is nearly completed, it applies for an operating license. The public can participate at both landmarks. What the industry wants is to receive its construction permit and operating license at the same time, before any work on the plant has even begun. The intent is to keep activists away from the second hearing, when problems with plant construction and emergency planning deficiencies are normally raised.

The industry considers the legislation essential to permit the building of new reactors. The NRC supports the proposal, and so do enough members of Congress to assure its consideration by the House Energy Committee this year. Even after Chernobyl, the bill has a fair chance of



### 3. URANIUM INTO METAL

Fernald Uranium Feed Materials Production Center, Ohio. Water cooling a hot "reduction pot" containing a newly-made lump of uranium metal.

every opportunity the benefits of government-industry cooperation. The industry sees in him a regulator who can help it achieve its most cherished goal: industry self-regulation.

In the meantime, as if Chernobyl were nothing more than the public relations equivalent of a mosquito bite, the industry is pressing ahead with a legislative and regulatory agenda designed to assure new reactor orders in the 1990s.

### LICENTIOUS LEGISLATION

The centerpiece of the industry's effort is one-step reactor licensing, which former NRC Commissioner Victor Gilinsky once said "makes about as much sense as hand-

being enacted.

Never mind, safe energy proponents point out, that no NRC commissioner has ever identified a single plant was inappropriately delayed by citizen intervention. Never mind that in the cases of those plants that have been delayed (like California's Diablo Canyon) or abandoned (like Zimmer in Ohio), all citizens did was point out existing problems. The antinuclear power movement would like to take credit for the 114 plants that have been cancelled in the past decade, but honestly, it can't. The utilities themselves deserve all the credit.

Yet, even as one congressional committee was hearing the first U.S. government

*Michael Mariotte is editor for the Nuclear Information and Resource Service in Washington, D.C.*



estimate of casualties at Chernobyl, and condemning the Soviets for keeping their citizens in the dark about the accident, members of another committee were urging speedy passage of the licensing reform legislation.

Another industry legislative initiative is the renewal of the Price-Anderson Act. Back in the 1950s, the government decided private utilities should begin to develop nuclear power. The utilities balked when they realized what the potential consequences of an accident might be, and what they might be liable for. So Congress thoughtfully limited utility liability in the event of an accident to about \$560 million.

Thirty years of inflation later, the liability limit stands at only \$665 million which would, critics point out, pay just two percent of the damage thought possible from an accident at New York's Indian Point reactor. The Price-Anderson Act expires in 1987, and Congress is now debating whether to renew it, and if so, what the liability cap should be. A Senate version of the bill, supported by the industry, places the limit at slightly above \$2 billion; a House version lifts it to \$6.5 billion. Neither version is acceptable to nuclear industry critics, who believe that if the industry is willing to risk causing damages, it ought to be willing to pay for the full extent of them.

If the Price-Anderson Act is not renewed, or is renewed with an unlimited cap on liability, there likely would be no new nuclear plants built in the United States.

Another industry-sponsored initiative is the incredible shrinking Emergency Planning Zone (EPZ). After the Three Mile Island accident in 1979, Congress required the NRC to establish EPZs of about 10 miles around each nuclear plant. The utilities are required to be able to notify and evacuate everyone in the EPZ within several hours following an accident.

But the industry thinks the zones are too large, and in a move widely perceived as a test case, the Baltimore Gas & Electric Co. last year petitioned the NRC for a two-mile EPZ at its Calvert Cliffs plant. The NRC has not yet ruled on the petition, but some commissioners are known to be sympathetic to the industry's plight.

It might turn out to be safer to move near Chernobyl. The Soviets evacuated an 18-mile radius, and even further in some directions. Or perhaps the State Department could take over emergency planning at nuclear facilities: in May it advised U.S. citizens in Kiev—nearly 80 miles from Chernobyl—to evacuate.

The antinuclear power movement plans to block the industry's attempts at

resurgence. The first widespread antinuclear power demonstrations in several years took place on May 24. Although most of the actions were relatively small, many local organizers found a revitalized interest in the issue and their organizations. In areas where new reactors are about to come on line, antinuclear sentiment has in some cases reached new peaks. Civil disobedience has also returned to the movement; 74 people were arrested at the Seabrook plant in New Hampshire on May 24.

Safe energy organizations in Washington are also stepping up their efforts. The recently reformed Critical Mass Energy Project is promoting in several states a "least-cost" energy strategy, which would preclude the use of nuclear power. The U.S. Public Interest Research Group has been lobbying to prevent renewal of the Price-Anderson Act with a limited liability while a coalition of organizations, including the Union of Concerned Scientists, is attempting to derail licensing reform legislation. And in the regulatory arena, the Nuclear Information and Resource Service plans to submit to the NRC a rule-making change which would expand the size of emergency planning zones.

#### INDUSTRY PRESSURE POINT

The Chernobyl accident, in many antinuclear activists' minds, brought to the world a tiny glimpse of the aftermath of a nuclear war. And, to be sure, the consequences of a nuclear war would dwarf those of Chernobyl. But so would the consequences of a major reactor accident near a major U.S. city.

At least it takes an actual, if not necessarily rational, decision to use a nuclear weapon. But nuclear power plants are in use 24 hours a day, and each reactor's radioactive inventory of 1000 Hiroshimas can be released inadvertently, without any human decision-making.

The NRC admits that, horrible as it was, Chernobyl was not a "worst case" nuclear accident. While it stresses that an identical accident probably can't happen here, the NRC last year told Congress that the chances of a full-core meltdown in the United States by the year 2000 are about 45 percent. And it admits that if a worst-case accident were to occur, the odds of a complete meltdown through the concrete basemat into the groundwater—the so-called China Syndrome—are actually greater in U.S. reactors. Chernobyl was designed to handle that problem. U.S. reactors aren't.

The nuclear industry would like the public to believe that U.S. reactors are safer because they have containments, and the Russians are too stupid to build them. It's only partially true. Some Soviet



The Nuclear Information and Resource Service is the only national organization working solely on nuclear power issues. Founded in 1978 to assist local citizen activists, NIRS is also known for providing critical and accurate information on nuclear power.

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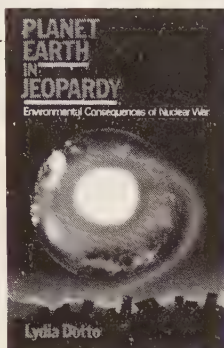
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reactors don't have containments, but what used to be known as Chernobyl-4, the ill-fated (and newest) reactor at the site, had one. According to NRC Commissioner James Asselstine, it had a design pressure of 27 pounds per square inch (psi) and a pressure suppression system designed to ensure that pressures never climbed that high. It didn't work.

There are 10 U.S. reactors with containments that have design pressures of only 12 psi and pressure suppression systems designed to ensure that pressures never reach that high. According to the Union of Concerned Scientists, there are another 39 reactors, all made by General Electric, with similar pressure suppression containment systems. Even at only 12 psi, will they work? As far back as 1972, Dr. Joseph Hendrie, a high-ranking Atomic Energy Commission official who later served as chairman of the NRC, wrote that fully addressing the pressure suppression containment problem "could well be the end of nuclear power."

### RISKY BUSINESS

Reactors now in place near Philadelphia, Detroit, Phoenix, New Orleans, and about 20 other sites, began operating

after the Three Mile Island accident in 1979, which was supposed to be the proverbial nail in the coffin for the nuclear industry. Besides dogged determination, the most remarkable aspect of the nuclear industry is its seeming inability to learn from experience. According to Representative Edward Markey, 1985 was the worst year for nuclear safety in the United States since 1979, with at least three major near-accidents and dozens of potentially serious incidents. Yet the industry and its regulators continue to sweep aside any suggestion that an accident could happen here. It is an industry that speaks constantly about the dangers of coal mining, but ignores the documented perils of uranium mining and enrichment. It is an industry that could teach even weapons builders a thing or two about arrogance. It is an industry that has turned the myth of the peaceful atom into national policy, and placed much of the nation at constant risk.

Nuclear power and nuclear weapons both begin in uranium mines and eventually end in waste dumps. One promises security, the other electricity. But in both cases their ultimate promise may be the legacy of a permanent wasteland. □

## The Missing Link

By 1990 commercial reactors in the United States will have generated enough plutonium 239 in spent fuel to produce 23,000 nuclear warheads. Four years ago Congress caught wind of the Reagan plan to "mine" weapons-grade plutonium from spent reactor fuel and passed legislation blocking DOE from carrying it out. The Hart-Simpson amendment to the 1954 Atomic Energy Act does not, however, block DOE from developing the technologies to chemically extract and purify civilian reactor-grade plutonium for military use. (DOE expects the new processes to be operational by the 1990s.)

If DOE is able to circumvent the Hart/Simpson amendment, U.S. consumers of nuclear-generated electricity will become direct participants in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. David Albright, a staff specialist at the Federation of American Scientists, calculates that 25,000 households using nuclear-generated electricity for one year will help make enough plutonium 239 for a Nagasaki-sized atomic bomb.

Prominent arms control experts have expressed alarm over this policy. Gerard C. Smith, former chief of the SALT I delegation, and others charge

that DOE "is destroying the barrier between civilian and military nuclear programs . . . an essential feature of U.S. efforts over the past 25 years to control the global spread of nuclear weapons." Thus, DOE may be seriously harming U.S. non-proliferation policies in order to amass more weapons-grade plutonium.

With an estimated 26,000 warheads in the U.S. nuclear arsenal, why does the United States need more plutonium? For the past few years, Reagan officials have raised concerns over the Soviets' ability to use their nuclear power reactors to provide nuclear explosives if "contingencies" arise (the Chernobyl reactor has such capabilities). Smith and others believe that the Reagan Administration is pushing to build a surplus plutonium stockpile "above and beyond arsenal requirements" as a "back door way" to build nuclear weapons that Congress has not authorized. Reagan Administration officials deny this and justify the need for extra plutonium for reasons of psychology. According to Assistant Defense Secretary Richard Wagner, the Reagan Administration is concerned about the "asymmetry" in the U.S./Soviet "image ratio." The Soviets, purportedly, will have a better image of themselves if they are able to out-produce the United States.

—Robert Alvarez



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# The Bomb At Home

*Secrecy, dangers abound at weapons facilities*

BY ROBERT ALVAREZ

**L**ike his neighbors who farm the vast semi-arid expanses near the Columbia River in eastern Washington, Tom Bailie was not one for giving speeches. It wasn't easy for him to climb up to the podium of the high school auditorium at the "Hanford, the Public Health, and the Law," symposium in Spokane, Washington, particularly since he wasn't invited. As the tall, wiry, grey-

niceties. It was just three days after the world learned that the nuclear reactor core at Chernobyl was spewing radiation into the atmosphere some 10,000 miles away in the Soviet Union. That Tom Bailie's farm is a few miles away from an operating reactor, similar in design to the one burning up at Chernobyl, was good enough reason for him to crash the meeting.

Bailie spoke of growing up near DOE's Hanford facility, the world's oldest nu-

the exact reasons for this experiment remain a classified military secret.

While Bailie was growing up, Columbia River water passed through the cores of as many as eight Chernobyl-type reactors as coolant, returning to the river with enormous amounts of radioactive contamination. A few miles downstream, Bailie's unsuspecting family swam in the river, irrigated their crops with this water and ate radiation-contaminated food.

Well before Bailie learned about Hanford's operating history from the almost 19,000 pages of secret reports released earlier this year, he knew that there was something terribly wrong. He and his neighbors refer to the stretch of farmland just downstream from Hanford as "death mile." Only one in 10 farms along "death mile," where Bailie and his family live, have escaped cancer.

"This week the nations of the world have condemned Russia for its silence," Bailie concluded. "Is its crime any greater than what has been done to us? Is its silence for three days worse than Hanford's silence for 40 years?"

These are difficult times in eastern Washington for the U.S. nuclear weapons industry, which is definitely not used to being challenged by local citizens. It is, perhaps, even more difficult for the people of this conservative part of the state, who for more than 40 years never questioned what went on at Hanford. They are now facing a different kind of "unthinkable" of the nuclear age—the distinct possibility that in making the very nuclear weapons that are supposed to protect them, the U.S. government is willfully destroying ever-widening tracts of their homeland, and may be spawning a human health legacy of major proportions.

To a significant extent, the situation at Hanford is a microcosm of a growing national crisis surrounding the DOE's nuclear weapons production and testing complex. It is a crisis that could have a major impact not only on the human environment but also on the size and scope of the nuclear arms race in the 1990s and beyond.

## DISCRETE CHARM OF THE DOE

With over \$24 billion in physical assets and an annual budget now in excess of \$8 billion, the Energy Department's nuclear weapons production industry would rank among the top tier of the "Fortune 500" corporations. The design, production and testing of nuclear warheads involves over 150 facilities and employs about 115,000 people. DOE's weapons sites are operated under contract by Rockwell International, Martin Marietta, DuPont, Westinghouse, Monsanto and other companies. The amount of land



## 4. PLUTONIUM

L Reactor, Savannah River Plant, South Carolina. Target elements from Fernald are bombarded by neutrons, turning U-238 into plutonium.

haired Bailie introduced himself as a "Hanford downwinder," a Department of Energy (DOE) official on the stage assumed a stone-like expression and glared down at his notes. The DOE public relations people in the audience also looked uncomfortable, since they had worked hard to prevent this kind of unpleasant surprise.

But this wasn't a time for social

*Robert Alvarez is director of the Environmental Policy Institute's Nuclear Power and Weapons Project in Washington, D.C. He is also co-author of Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience with Atomic Radiation.*

clear explosive production complex and now the nation's largest and most problem-plagued nuclear and toxic waste dump site. In December of 1949, when Bailie was two years old, the government deliberately released about 5500 curies of radioactive iodine into the atmosphere, according to papers made public only recently. The intensely radioactive cloud deposited fallout on the farms of Bailie's family and neighbors and traveled as far as Spokane, 125 miles to the northeast. Although this "planned release," which may have been part of a radiation warfare experiment, was over 460 times larger than the official estimate of leakage from the Three Mile Island reactor accident,



occupied by weapons facilities is "equal to the size of Delaware and one-and-a-half times the size of Rhode Island," according to General William Hoover, a former DOE official.

DOE's budget for producing key ingredients of nuclear explosives such as plutonium, tritium and highly-enriched uranium has quadrupled between 1980 and 1984, from \$486.2 million to \$1.864 billion. The increase is crucial to implement the Reagan plan to build as many as 13,000 new nuclear warheads over the next decade.

Although the Reagan era has brought major funding increases, the DOE's weapons program still faces very serious problems stemming from its failure to modernize. "The majority of the Nuclear Material Production plants are over 25 years old," the FY 1986 DOE congressional budget request declares, "and have considerable age and deterioration. Some equipment is obsolete and/or replacement parts are unavailable."

Because it has operated in strict secrecy and has been self-regulating for over four decades, the DOE's nuclear weapons program has not, until recently, been subject to the same kinds of pressures for change as the commercial nuclear industry. Despite huge sums being spent for refurbish-

ment of weapons material plants, DOE cannot afford to meet state-of-the-art health and safety standards without causing serious disruptions in warhead schedules or accumulating staggering costs that could dramatically alter the economics of nuclear arms production.

In addition, the DOE has not changed in over 40 years the basic way large amounts of intensely radioactive and toxic wastes are generated and stored. Eighty million gallons of high-level radioactive wastes have accumulated in carbon steel tanks, and hundreds of thousands of gallons have already leaked into the environment at Hanford and Savannah River. "An explosion involving a DOE high-level nuclear waste tank would make Bhopal look rather minor," says Dr. Arjun Makhijani, an engineer and professor at the Capitol Institute of Technology in Maryland.

If such an accident were to occur, private contractors would be *exempt* from liability under the Price-Anderson Act even if the accident stemmed from their gross negligence. Without outside incentives for safety, contractors at DOE sites, says Fred Christensen, a former nuclear safety engineer at the Savannah River Plant, will continue to run government nuclear plants "like a bank that has never

had to face the bank examiner and knows he will never show up at the door."

#### THE WASTELAND

Concerns over how DOE is managing its nuclear operations have prompted members of Congress representing districts near DOE weapons plants to introduce legislation calling for sweeping regulatory changes. Representative Ron Wyden, a Democrat from Portland, Oregon, is a leading advocate for independent regulation at DOE sites. He justifies his legislation on the grounds that the manufacture of nuclear weapons is "the largest, most ultra-hazardous industry of its kind in the world" and should not be left to a bureaucracy that places production above all else.

Taking away the department's self-regulation, argued nuclear weapons analyst A.T. Peaslee in a 1981 report by the DOE's Los Alamos National Laboratory, could "effectively curtail nuclear weapons production" in this country. "The key to successful realization" of DOE's nuclear explosives buildup, said Peaslee, is to maintain self-regulation in order "to preclude the delaying and harassing tactics of opponents of nuclear power, nuclear weapons, big business, modern technology and so forth."

## Global Nuclear Energy Risks

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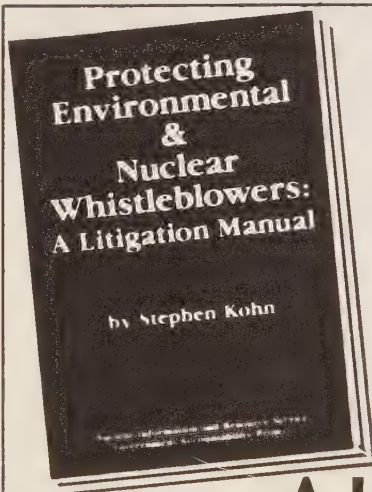
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Of particular concern to communities near DOE plants are revelations about DOE's radioactive and toxic waste management practices, which are brutally simple: Soil, groundwater and surface streams are used as disposal media for billions of gallons of contaminated process liquids and solid wastes. For instance:

- At DOE's Oak Ridge, Tennessee Y-12 weapons component plant, some 2.6 million pounds of mercury were deliberately passed into the environment.
- Over 10 tons of mercury mixed with organic solvents and radioactive wastes were dumped in shallow burial pits at the Savannah River Plant. Wastes contaminated with plutonium were buried

commitment to clean up the site and to refuse dangerous work.

With a major part of the nuclear weapons workforce over 40 years of age, many "old-timers" are becoming worried about contracting cancer and not receiving compensation. According to several internal DOE studies released last year, they have good reason to be worried. Studies of groups of DOE nuclear workers at over 20 sites, underway since 1964, are finding significant cancer death and incidence rates.

By forcing DOE to internalize the real costs of meeting today's health and safety standards, the economic benefit of nuclear deterrence is not looking as good as it did in the 1950s when it was sold

Surprisingly, Congress, while not stopping a single major nuclear weapons system, has over the past decade enacted several laws giving states and independent agencies the power to regulate environmental protection at DOE weapons sites. These laws, DOE has loudly complained, have put national security decision-making, to a growing degree, into the hands of citizens.

There is little disagreement about the impact these laws will have, reports *Engineering News-Record*, a magazine of the construction industry: "Combatants on both sides say that the groundwork is set for a major redirection of the nuclear weapons program in the United States."

### THE WAR AT HOME

The Reagan policy of accelerated weapons production is on a collision course with the nation's growing environmental ethic. Last year, leaders of 10 national environmental organizations representing wide political views concluded that "a race between the superpowers to amass more nuclear explosives poses serious health and environmental problems . . . the federal government should immediately reevaluate nuclear weapons production policies with regard to their effect on health and the environment. A similar proposal should be made to the Soviet Union." Their recommendation calling for a "mutual and verifiable moratorium on the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons" is based to a large extent on the conclusion that nuclear weapons are simply too costly and dangerous for our society to make.

This unique way of coming to grips with nuclear weapons strikes a chord for many Americans who have not been active in promoting arms control initiatives. Instead of dealing with nuclear weapons primarily within the context of U.S.-Soviet relations, activists living near bomb plants are more concerned with the relationship between the U.S. government and its citizens.

Ironically, the very regions that host DOE weapons facilities, where campaigns like the nuclear freeze made few inroads, are the areas where the antinuclear ethic is the strongest. "By only emphasizing the dangers of nuclear war, it's as if nuclear freeze supporters fell into a silent consensus with the proponents of nuclear weapons," says Janet Gordon, director of Citizen's Call, a southern Utah group seeking compensation for radiation victims of nuclear fallout and an end to nuclear weapons testing. "They both act like there are no real dangers to nuclear weapons unless they are used in a war with the Russians. The government has been waging nuclear war near our homes for over 35 years now." □



**5. POWER PLANT**

Three Mile Island, Middletown, Pennsylvania.

at the site in cardboard boxes until 1984.

In the wake of these disclosures, nearby communities are now reexamining their priorities and in some instances are opposing additional nuclear activities. In the past year, a proposed \$2 billion nuclear spent fuel interim storage facility at Oak Ridge, Tennessee has been turned down by elected officials throughout the state. Despite the permanent layoff of 800 workers at the Oak Ridge site in the spring of 1985, area Congresswoman Marilyn Lloyd finds that her constituents are "struggling desperately to diversify their economies . . . in an effort to become less dependent on Department of Energy programs."

There is also a growing militancy among workers at weapons plants over health and safety. Last fall, workers at the DOE's Fernald, Ohio uranium processing plant successfully struck for a formal

to the public as the cheapest way to keep the peace. Over the next few years, DOE is planning to spend almost \$870 million for environmental protection, mainly at sites where citizens have expressed vocal demands. Citizen pressure has also helped add over \$700 million in FY 1987—an additional 30 percent—to the costs of making nuclear explosives, in the form of nuclear waste clean-up funds. These costs, DOE concedes, will continue to go up.

Along with involuntary expenditures have come disruptions in production schedules. At the Savannah River Plant (SRP), the South Carolina Department of Health and Environmental Control delayed the start-up of a plutonium production reactor for two years, even though the Reagan Administration warned that this action would hurt national security by delaying weapons schedules.



# Seize The Opportunity

*Making the most of the message of Chernobyl*

BY ROBERT JAY LIFTON

Everyone senses that Chernobyl, the largest visible nuclear disaster to date, is an important historical event. What happens to an historical event, however, depends on how we contribute to the creation of history. For history isn't just there, it is created by commentary, whether by writers, leaders and eventually historians, or by people like us, activists who are concerned about nuclear issues. We will contribute to the kind of history Chernobyl becomes by how we recreate it and what we say about it.

Nobody can receive Chernobyl nakedly. We rework all images that we take in on the basis of past experience and present need. That is the nature of the human mind and its symbolizing function. So what we *do* with Chernobyl becomes very important.

My own sense of urgency now is that we seize upon the genuine gut reaction of the American people in perceiving the truth brought home by Chernobyl—that is, universal vulnerability and shared fate. How we articulate that reaction, and express it in various ways, will help form the history that Chernobyl is part of.

A few reflections:

The reaction of ordinary people to Chernobyl is directly in contrast with the official one, and that has to be emphasized. The ordinary reaction is spontaneous, it is not political. It is psychological and it is human and it responds to a perception of a threat of annihilation that is perceived as ultimate, uncontrollable and without limits. Official reaction was exactly the opposite, in almost all countries. The official reaction adds up to, "Well, this was a bad accident, let's now take actions to make things a little safer in the future." The officials say, we can manage it, we'll take care of you. The gut reaction of the people is that it can't be managed, it's unmanageable, it will do us in, and we're afraid.

Nuclear fear, however, is not just fear of technology out of control, as some in

the media would have us believe. Technology out of control is a newly powerful image now because of both Chernobyl and the space shuttle accident. They merge in one image, and it is a useful image, because it is the truth. But there is in nuclear fear an added factor, which could be described as fear of invisible contamination, the fear that a deadly poison can somehow enter your body and can strike you down at any time, without warning, either a few days after exposure

even decades, for the full psychological reaction to emerge. We have seen that with survivors of the Holocaust and Hiroshima.

Chernobyl was not quite a holocaust but it has led to fear of the ultimate holocaust. We can assume that this fear is inchoate, silent, in the great majority of Americans. And things we do or don't do bring that fear out or give it some constructive form or shape.

Inchoate reactions to Three Mile Island, for example, contributed to the kind of consciousness that later produced a nuclear freeze majority and other anti-nuclear attitudes. That is hard to prove, of course, as the whole process of consciousness is complicated, amorphous, impossible to define precisely at any moment and yet of the greatest importance. There was not any single influence that suddenly created an antinuclear majority.



## 6. NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Test missiles from the United States arsenal, Air Force Museum, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton, Ohio.

or years later. It is the fear of a limitless danger that may affect subsequent generations, the potential life of your children, and their children.

There's no way to scientifically allay that fear. When peace movement activists say, "let's not emphasize Chernobyl because it's not in the media much anymore, people are forgetting it already," they are mistaking what they read or hear with what is going on under the surface. There is a lot of fear and anxiety coming from Chernobyl, much of it outside of awareness, which has enormous impact even though it is silent. The impact is greater over time than is visible in conversation or in media images now. It can take years,

Yet it was created; it happened. Various kinds of fear and imagery not directly related to a political position can be present in some layer of the mind and can be activated by events or ideas (such as the Reagan Administration's talk of winning a nuclear war) later on. A nuclear freeze majority could emerge only because there was suppressed fear of the nuclear threat present in Americans' minds.

Now Chernobyl has touched a level of fear and recognition of vulnerability in a lot of people who had not been touched before. Within days of Chernobyl a number of people called me and said, "What can I do for the antinuclear move-

*Robert Jay Lifton is a noted psychiatrist, a board member of Physicians for Social Responsibility, and author of many books, including the landmark study of Hiroshima survivors, Death in Life.*



ment?" They were not thinking *nuclear power* or *nuclear weapons*. They were reacting with a fear that was probably rather diffuse in terms of the general nuclear threat. Nuclear weapons and nuclear power merged in their minds as agents of this danger; it was "that nuclear stuff." Those who feel that nuclear weapons are inextricably linked to nuclear power can reformulate that connection in different ways, starting anew in that formulation with Chernobyl.

Even if the political link between nuclear weapons and nuclear power is not always clear, the psychological effects are similar and quite significant. Nuclear power, however, is more concrete; it is in everybody's backyard, and there have been visible accidents. It is much more real than nuclear weapons, which to many people are just a concept. The danger of nuclear power is relatively more imaginable. It does not have a direct association to nothingness—to The End—in a way that nuclear weapons do. With nuclear weapons there is an absoluteness that promotes a sense of resignation, of powerlessness before the whole thing. We need to focus precisely on the perceived actuality of Chernobyl, and make appropriate associations to the nuclear weapons threat and to the fate we share with the Soviets.

Shared fate starts with vulnerability and then goes on to cooperation. It starts with the nature of technology and the unlimited destructiveness of our technology. That leads to recognition of mutual interest. Shared fate means that unless one's adversary survives one cannot survive oneself. I have to become committed to Soviet survival, not necessarily because I love the state or its people, but because I can't survive if they don't. If that kind of consciousness took hold then everybody, including our most anti-Soviet leaders, could more easily reconcile their opposition to Soviet political practices with the need to work with the Soviet Union, and subsume U.S.-Soviet antagonisms to the reality of shared fate.

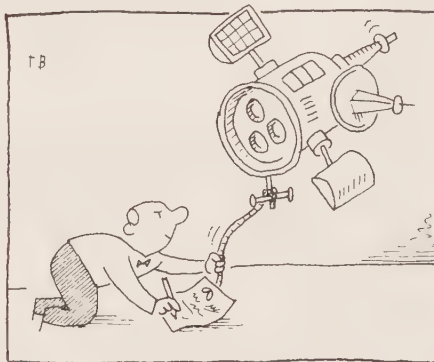
It is an optimal time now for developing our message but it has to be *developed*. It won't just happen because the time is optimal. We can't just keep pushing the Chernobyl Button. We have to think through what Chernobyl means and connect our advocacies to it, because Chernobyl brings the nuclear threat to a closer level of understanding, and it does so both psychologically and intellectually.

It has sometimes been said that only a frightening nuclear disaster would enable people to overcome their psychic numbing and avoidance of the issue. Chernobyl could serve as that kind of warning. We must seize the opportunity out of the pure self-interest of everyone. We must shape our shared fate into a genuine human future. □

# STAR STRUCK

**B**anishment to the back of a file cabinet is the fate of most Capitol Hill reports, but a Senate staff investigation on the lack of concrete progress by Strategic Defense Initiative researchers has taken on a life of its own. The new document, and the flurry of activity accompanying it, are at least partly responsible for a widespread change of sentiment in the Republican-controlled Senate, a shift which may spell an end to the upper house's approval of hefty SDI funding increases.

The report, *SDI: Progress and Challenges*, has generated more than a dozen briefings, produced numerous press ac-



counts, and has helped some senators to take a stand against President Reagan's proposed SDI budget increase.

Forty-six senators, including nine Republicans, signed a letter in late May asking that Reagan's proposed 77 percent increase in 1987 SDI funding be cut to at most a three percent hike, bringing the program's cost to \$3.95 billion. The list includes such moderate or conservative senators as Lloyd Bentsen, Daniel J. Evans, and Russell B. Long. Two more senators, including conservative Republican Orrin Hatch, signed on in mid-June.

The report was drafted by Douglas Waller, James Bruce, and Douglas Cook, staffers for Senators William Proxmire, J. Bennett Johnston, Jr., and Lawton Chiles, respectively. The letter, which was written by six senators, used the report's research to support the contention that "the SDI program is being rushed to a premature development decision in the early 1990s in order to meet an unrealistic schedule." The letter also stated the SDI "has received excessive and inappropriate emphasis"

in the Pentagon budget.

The 48 signatures on the letter, says Waller, the Proxmire aide, mark a dramatic movement since last year, when an SDI-cutback bill sponsored by Senators Proxmire, John Chafee, and Dale Bumpers (that would have still allowed a sizeable 30 percent increase in funding) garnered only 10 cosponsors and 38 votes on the floor.

"A lot of those people [senators] would not have been on there," says Kathleen Hancock, a Federation of American Scientists lobbyist, had it not been for the extensive follow-up work done by the senators and their staffers.

Senator Johnston "basically carried that report around and bortionholed folks on the floor," explains Robert Herman, a Union of Concerned Scientists' research associate in Washington. Herman praised the behind-the-scenes work that led to the press and Senate staff briefings, noting that "we didn't expect the Senate to take the lead over the House."

Thomas Moore, executive director of the Coalition for SDI, a High Frontier affiliate, agrees that the letter has had an impact. "The House has been notoriously much more difficult than the Senate," Moore says, adding that the letter may have changed that equation. But Moore points out that "nowhere in the letter is there a challenge to the basic premise of SDI." The letter advocates "vigorous" ballistic missile defense research and calls for a continuation of the current level of SDI funding. This, Moore says, shows how much the idea of SDI has been "institutionalized."

Funding that is equal to or close to the current year's level would be a victory, arms control advocates contend. Analysts point out that the Senate is becoming less enchanted with SDI for a variety of reasons, besides the staff report. Waller cites general budget pressures and the fact that Congress feels more comfortable with the SDI debate now that it has become less ideological and more concerned with such practical matters as the program's pace, direction and funding. Others say that the SDI Organization has lost credibility on the Hill by promising breakthroughs and delivering only shoddy demonstrations. And faith in technology has been sapped by the space shuttle and Chernobyl accidents.

The Senate letter, and a Senate Armed Services Committee vote on June 20 calling for major cuts in the Reagan SDI budget, "buoys our hopes that we may be able to hold spending steady this year," says UCS's Herman. But he cautions that this may not be translated into a defeat for SDI in a vote of the full Senate in July. "The Administration is certainly going to put people's feet to the fire," Herman warns. —Douglas Lavin



# The Psychology of Threats

*A debate on the use of nuclear diplomacy*

**M**uch of the debate about nuclear deterrence has centered on questions of whether it has really worked, and what it could possibly be replaced with. William Kincade, who is completing a collaborative project at the Carnegie Endowment For International Peace on the psychology of deterrence, has introduced what he believes is a more interesting question: How did we arrive at our current policy, and what does our theory of deterrence leave out or include that we don't recognize? He concludes that, starting in the 1950s, plain old deterrence began to assume a less sensible form. The new, "dogmatic" brand of deterrence attempted not merely to impede a Soviet attack, but to compel certain responses from the Soviet Union. This type of deterrence-plus-compellence, Kincade believes, can be seen in the Administration's current efforts to develop SDI in order to coerce the Soviets into curbing arms competition.

Kincade holds that the theory behind the deterrent and compellent form of nuclear threats was developed without essential insights of psychological knowledge. In their research, he and his colleagues examine the effects of this omission. In the following discussion, which took place in Washington, D.C., recently, Kincade pit his research findings on the use of nuclear coercion in foreign policy against those of Morton Halperin, an expert on U.S. nuclear doctrine, who is completing a book that analyzes from a different perspective the efficacy of nuclear threats as a tool in American foreign policy. Kincade's study, *Edge of War: The Psychology of Nuclear Deterrence*, cowritten with Stephen M. Sonnenberg, a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, will be published by Yale University Press in 1987. *Nuclear Fallacy: Dispelling the Myth of Nuclear Strategy*, by Morton Halperin, will be published by Ballinger Press in late 1986.

**Kincade:** The Western theory of nuclear deterrence developed in the 1950s in response to perceptions of a Soviet Union on the march and, partly, to the Soviet acquisition of nuclear weapons which gave a new meaning to their perceived expansionism. The deterrence that evolved, which I call *dogmatic* deterrence, attempts to influence Soviet behavior through implicit or explicit threats and sometimes rewards. The newer and more elaborate principle differs from what I



Kincade (l.) faces Halperin on nuclear threats (Nuclear Times' Subak, center)

call *axiomatic* deterrence, or the time-honored principle that military preparedness will cause potential aggressors to be inhibited.

Dogmatic deterrence and "compellence" involve the use of nuclear forces—their deployment, operational doctrine, numbers, and performance—to change Soviet behavior. The Soviets have also used the same dimensions of nuclear forces in attempts to influence the policy of the United States.

In its crudest terms this policy was based on the notion that the response to a credible threat is either "fight or flight." When confronted with the probable horrors of nuclear exchanges, the U.S.S.R. would choose "flight" and acquiesce to tacit or explicit Western demands. Different specialists gave different weight to the carrots and to the sticks, but there was considerable unanimity on the efficacy of nuclear threats in constraining Soviet behavior.

Few of those involved in the development of deterrence theory had training in or knowledge of psychology or allied fields. Many of the analysts worked at the Rand Corporation and other research centers. Among the important intellectual influences were economic theory, game theory and systems analysis. Even

at the time of its initial elaboration, dogmatic deterrence encountered some skepticism and reservations, especially among social scientists and clinically-oriented specialists in psychology. These dissenting voices, however, had little or no material effect. There was no national debate on deterrence.

I'll just mention one, of many, problems with dogmatic deterrence: A threat often leads to a counter-threat that sustains a recurring cycle of coercive actions. In fact, you should *count* on the other country overreacting to the threat. You should count on there being either an immediate, or over a longer period, a counter-threat, much as people now expect the bombing of Libya to increase rather than decrease the amount of terrorism.

**Halperin:** I think that we need to have an image of international politics and how it *really* works in our heads in order to deal with these specific questions.

International politics is generally thought of as something like two people exchanging threats and promises and interacting with each other. I believe it's much more like a situation in which you have a football field and a soccer field side by side. The people on each field are concentrating on their [own] game, and

JIM MARKS



every once in a while somebody kicks the ball into the wrong field. Nobody knows quite what to do with this other ball. They have a little discussion about that and finally kick it back into the other field. The process that goes on between nations is, I would argue, much closer to that than the model that is usually in our heads—two people or two small groups interacting. One vital question is to try to understand to what extent is individual or small group behavior really relevant to the way that nations behave.

**Kincade:** But nations are governed, especially in connection with their nuclear policy, by individuals. In their response to threats we see very strong parallels at the general public or leadership level to what you would get in research at the individual or small group level. It is people who are making or supporting policy.

**Halperin:** It may be true that John Foster Dulles reacts to threats in the same way that college students in a small group would. But the question is, what follows that?

In my manuscript [*Nuclear Fallacy*] I am arguing that the major problem with nuclear forces is not that we don't take account of psychological insights of how nations really behave, but that we are trying to use the threat of the use of nuclear weapons to advance our interest in deterring conventional wars. We use nuclear explosive devices as if they were credible weapons of war and that substantially increases the risk of nuclear war. That probably comes not from some misunderstanding of what motivates people but a decision to try to use these things as weapons of war.

The major question is how we should behave in relationship to the Russians so as to reduce the risk of getting into a crisis and so that if we get into a crisis we can get out of it. It is in that process that one should be trying to interject insights and psychological analysis rather than in the theory of deterrence.

**Kincade:** What accounts for some of our differences is that you're focusing on crises, and my focus has tended to be, not on deterrence as a response to crisis, but deterrence as an ongoing policy, a kind of general, sometimes rather vague threat that hangs over everybody's head, and is given a certain additional sharpness in order to deter rather vague contingencies, like a Soviet move into Western Europe. Frequently U.S. and Soviet leaders have also taken advantage of the particular characteristics of their forces to raise the threat level in order to change adversary behavior. They have used either deployments or numbers or performance characteristics to try to sharpen the threat against their adversary.

**Halperin:** I don't think that's necessarily true. The Russians did dangerous things when the nuclear balance was adverse to them [before parity] and did not do dangerous things when the nuclear balance was not adverse to them. It's as if they were following the rule, "push while I'm weak so that the opponent does not realize that I'm not stronger than he is."

**Kincade:** The analysis that Paul Nitze has repeated again and again—and he's a man of great experience and sophistication—about the Cuban missile crisis makes precisely the point that it was the efficacy of our threat of our nuclear weapons [superiority] that made Khrushchev back down. And that has become part of our national security mythology and is even accepted by most

*"Politics is where policymakers can express their deep psychological needs without getting locked up for being crazy."*

liberals. I think what we're trying to do with our project is to use both psychological and behavioral [analysis] and point out that there are a number of reasons for thinking that another interpretation of the Cuban missile crisis may be better than the very simple "nuclear threats work."

**Halperin:** I agree with you. All I am saying is that you should not ever expect to get evidence so sound that it totally sustains. . . .

**Kincade:** My contention, and here we get into what cannot be proven, is that Khrushchev thought that the U.S. reaction [to the installation of Soviet missiles in Cuba] would be, "Well he's got us where he wants us, we're going to have to make concessions." Instead, there was a rather hysterical reaction, both within the international leadership and amongst the public, and so the Soviets miscalculated because of a very crude understanding of the psychology of threats.

**Halperin:** I think the Russians underestimated not how people respond to threats, but the domestic politics of that issue. If Kennedy had said that the missiles don't make any difference, which is absolutely the right response if the game was international power, he would have spent the rest of his term in office trying to explain why he allowed the Russians to push him around and it would probably have cost him his reelection.

To put it another way, if you knew that Khrushchev was going to do this

[put missiles in Cuba], and you had 10 minutes to explain to him what [America's] likely response was going to be, would you spend that 10 minutes talking about bureaucratic and domestic politics in the United States, or how individuals react to threats? I would spend the time talking about bureaucratic politics.

**Kincade:** I think what we have here is two analyses that head in the same direction and what I want to do is to force all of Mort's observations into my psychology-dominated paradigm and he wants to force all of my psychological insights into his domestic-politics dominated paradigm.

But I find that if I simply say that the Cuban missile crisis was not a case of deterrence, but a case of compellence—that it was not a case of inhibiting the Soviet Union from doing something, it was changing their course after it had been set—the flashbulbs go off and people suddenly see things in a very different light.

**Halperin:** Again I would say that misunderstanding the psychological consequences of what you think you're going to do is much less important than . . .

**Kincade:** Let's take Richard Perle. It seems to me that he almost epitomizes the kind of person who believes strongly that a good, intense threat is all the Soviets understand, so let's threaten them more and more and one of these days they'll finally say, "Oh my God, I'm just so impressed with the United States that I'm just going to roll over and give up."

**Halperin:** . . . What I'm saying is that human beings are constantly looking for ways to express their psychological needs without being locked up, and that politics is the place where you can do that because there is no statement you can make about Soviet behavior and about deterrence which can lead you to getting locked up because you're crazy. Policy makers, like most of the rest of us, are playing out their deep psychological needs because nobody knows how to prove that their ideas are wrong.

And if you come, say, to Mr. Weinberger, and say to him, "Do you understand that the way that people respond to threats is with counter-threats and not backing down?" his response to that is going to be, "I know as much about how human beings behave as you do, and I know people back down, and you don't."

**Kincade:** I disagree that just because politics is where we all work out our innermost psychological motivations—which I think is an interesting idea, and may well be true—does not vitiate my view as a source for understanding where some of the problems with deterrence may lie. □



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## Breaking The Ice

Twice Congress has passed legislation requiring the Pentagon to complete a detailed study of the policy implications of the nuclear winter theory. In both attempts, however, the Pentagon clearly failed to meet the assignment (its most recent report was only five pages long). Frustrated by the Pentagon's slipshod scholarship, Representative Timothy Wirth unveiled legislation in early June that would increase current funding levels for nuclear winter research from \$5.5 million to \$11.5 million. The Nuclear Research Act of 1986 would also establish an interdisciplinary commission to be appointed by the President to do what the Pentagon has failed to do.

## Conflict Evidence

The City University of New York is launching a first-of-a-kind center to examine methods to avoid many types of conflict, ranging from gang wars to tactical nuclear exchanges. The Institute on Violence and Human Survival plans to involve new constituencies, such as recent immigrants, in the nuclear debate. Psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton, Physicians for Social Responsibility President Jack Geiger, and historian Charles Strozier will direct the center's programs, which will use the perspectives of psychology, history and the social sciences to explore the "continuum of violence" in individual, community and international conflicts.

## Soft Spots

Computer game pro (and political scientist) Hayward Alker has been running simulated nuclear exchanges in his classes at M.I.T. for over two years and finds that even his relatively simple program (SDI software would be thousands of times more complicated) malfunctions with surprising frequency. Using a computer designed for his "exchanges" by IBM and Digital Equipment Corporation, Alker has had equipment, as well as program, failures. He has also had a problem with accidentally starting "nuclear wars." Another SDI skeptic, computer scientist and mathematician Herbert Lin, also at M.I.T., concludes in his recently published book, *Software for Ballistic Missile Defense*, that the software planned for the Strategic Defense Initiative would be inadequate. ☐

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# Remaking The World

*ExPro's peace dialectic*

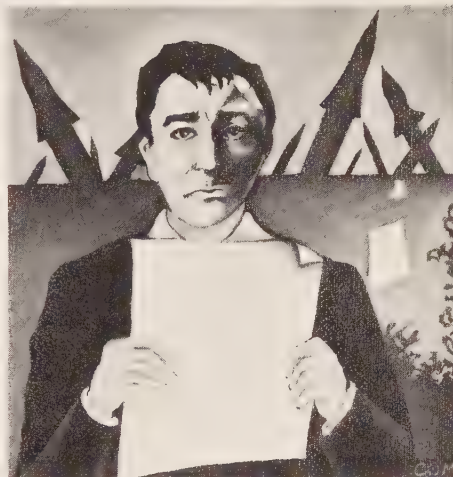
BY JACQUELINE ORR

Can a design for peace be drawn up that rivals in complexity, sustainability, and political appeal the current designs for war? Convinced that no one was performing the work of developing radical yet practical alternatives to current arms control and national security proposals, philanthropist and writer W.H. Ferry decided to "bring peace in out of the cold." With support from Robert Borosage of the Institute for Policy Studies and David Hunter of the Stern Fund, Ferry launched ExPro (The Exploratory Project on the Conditions of Peace) in 1984. They then recruited a group of academics and activists committed to ExPro's mission: identifying the elements of a peace system and the means for creating it.

ExPro now engages 26 academics, intellectuals and activists who meet four times a year for four-day periods of discussion. The chair is George Rathjens, a political scientist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and includes alternative security theorists Dietrich Fischer, Robert Johansen, Robert Irwin, Daniel Deudney, and Johan Galtung, social theorists Marcus Raskin, Elise Boulding, and Kirkpatrick Sale, as well as Princeton political scientist Robert Tucker and former Freeze Campaign leader Randy Kehler, among others.

Earlier this year ExPro published its first book, *Beyond the Bomb*, by ExPro member Mark Sommer. The book, seen as a "field guide" for peace organizations, includes sections on civilian-based defense, game theory, and weaponless deterrence. It clearly locates ExPro outside current mainstream thinking on arms control and defense policy. The book characterizes what ExPro member Robert Borosage describes as the group's "negative consensus—the belief that deterrence is too dangerous, defense is a mirage."

ExPro has insisted so far on maintaining the widest possible perspective. Noting that "Star Wars" lacks not for cogent critiques but for compelling rivals, Mark Sommer recently suggested that ExPro actively promote itself exclusively as an alternative to "Star Wars." But the group voted instead to retain its original broad



purpose.

At its most recent meeting in May, ExPro focused on how social change comes about, which included a presentation by historian/economist Gar Alperovitz on the relationship between domestic economic decay and the rise of right-wing demagoguery in the United States. Noam Chomsky led a half-day discussion on how Western elites have sustained a conscious effort to maintain U.S. preeminence abroad. ExPro hopes to help people outside the meeting room to take part in these discussions by expanding their publications and starting an associate membership program. They will publish a series of writings by ExPro members called "Discussion Papers." And in October, they will launch a public lecture series at New York University.

So far, however, ExPro has had little success in reaching a consensus on specific strategies. During one recent meeting, an attempt to agree upon specific proposals resulted in three hours of debate, agreement on just eight pages of a 70-page proposed text, and a general consensus that consensus had failed.

"We've been exceedingly successful as a kind of internal seminar," observes George Rathjens, "but without a consensus it's hard to mobilize support." Eleanor LeCain, who directs ExPro out of an office at Boston College, agrees. "I would like to see us be a more political vehicle," says LeCain. "I'd like us to map out what a congressperson, a business person, a peace movement person can do toward

midwifing a new society."

While ExPro members are divided over questions of strategy, most agree that their vision for peace must include a more effective peace movement. "The existence of ExPro is an implicit critique of the existing peace movement," believes ExPro's Charles Derber, a sociologist at Boston College.

In fact, ExPro is taking part in many of the debates that currently preoccupy the peace movement. For example, Derber recently coauthored a piece in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* arguing that activist strategy is too concerned with promoting specific arms control proposals and defeating the development of new weapons systems. He argues that even major changes in kind or quantity of nuclear weapons will not significantly alter the threat of nuclear war. An effective response to that threat, he believes, lies in addressing the superpowers' political relationship and the conflicts and grievances that fuel state violence.

But on this, too, the group is split. "The Freeze did get too involved with issues of [weapons] hardware," says Pam Solo, a former Freeze leader and ExPro advisor. But the "[superpower] political relationship is played out in decisions about technology. The two cannot be separated."

ExPro is also taking on issues of process and priority. The group is torn between those who believe there is no way to find peace without first repaving the routes of wealth and privilege, and those who argue that the immediate threat of nuclear war must be abolished before tackling pervasive social inequities. Daniel Deudney's proposal for a near-term solution to the nuclear threat based on continued U.S.-Soviet world hegemony has been challenged by those who believe that such a plan interferes with the need for a more equitable distribution of world power and resources.

Consensus for ExPro appears unlikely for the near term, and some of the ExPro members prefer it that way. Ferry suggests that ExPro think of itself as "a shopping mall, letting the world know there's a different market of goods to shop in when they're thinking about the future."

If taken alone, Ferry's marketeering may join the many academic ventures in that limbo of unknown but interesting ideas. ExPro is still struggling to bridge the gap that separates academic from activist efforts—the distance between having a good idea and having an impact. ExPro's challenge will be to sell the ideas it does produce to consumers weaned on a war system. □

ExPro can be reached at 519 McGuinn Hall, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA 02167 (617) 552-4198.

ILLUSTRATION BY CAROL O'MALLA



## Eye CBMs

Perhaps the most comprehensive investigation of the future of arms control is taking place this summer at UCLA. "Alternative Approaches to Arms Control," the main research project of the Center for International and Strategic Affairs, is exploring what has and hasn't worked in bilateral arms control agreements, as well as the value of such unilateral initiatives as hardening missile silos. The project, which is codirected by Michael Intriligator and Roman Kolkowicz of UCLA, is also looking at the efficacy of confidence building measures (CBMs), and the nuclear non-proliferation regime. The project group includes many southern California institutions, including Rand, Panheuristics, Pepperdine University, and Canyon Analysts. The study group plans to produce a book-length work by the end of 1986.

## Just A Call Away

The Committee for National Security (CNS) and the Arms Control Association (ACA) have set up a 24-hour arms control hotline designed specifically for journalists. The Media Information Project, which receives about 25 calls each month, is manned by staff members of ACA and CNS who consult with in-house experts on technical questions or background inquiries. And for those reporters seeking comments, the service sets up interviews with arms control specialists.

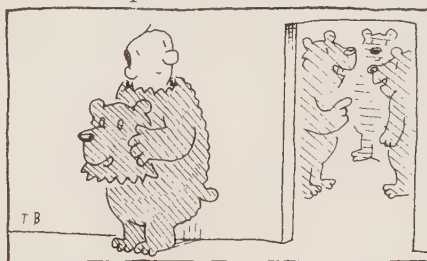
The Project's pool of experts includes members of the sponsoring groups' boards—Paul Warnke and Anne Cahn of CNS, and Robert McNamara, Gerard Smith and Spurgeon Keeny of ACA—as well as such nationally recognized authorities as Lynn Sykes, a geologist at Columbia University, and Richard Garwin of Harvard University. The service is free, thanks to an "anonymous" donation known to have come from Paul Newman's Salad King Company.

## Hawks & Owls?

This summer The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) is sponsoring a project at the Kennedy School of Government that is looking at public perceptions of the arms control process. "Learning From Experience in Arms Control," with chief investigator Albert Carnesale of the Avoiding Nuclear War Project at Harvard, is especially interested in how the arms control process affects our willingness to spend money for defense. □

# THE OTHER SIDE

After Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov died in February 1984 of kidney failure and a host of other previously secret ailments, Western observers of the Soviet Union were astonished to note the presence at his funeral of a wife. Her name was Tatyana and she was grief-stricken. In 1983 the emigré Soviet scientist Zhores Medvedev had described Andropov as a widower in a biography published when Andropov was already slipping from public view into the hospital underground which swallows up Soviet leaders.



From one point of view—common among intelligence officers who specialize in the clandestine collection of information—this was a fundamental error, almost like describing Ronald Reagan as having entered the White House in 1981 with his wife Jane Wyman at his side. What can you say with confidence of the political beliefs and ambitions of a man about whom you know essentially nothing? The other side has chosen to keep such matters secret, and plain honesty requires you to admit from the outset you simply can't know what they're up to without somehow penetrating the inner circles where the secrets are kept.

But from another point of view—common among intelligence officers who specialize in analysis—so what? So Andropov had a wife and family? So Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has a port-wine birthmark on his upper right forehead? What does that have to do with politics? Power in the Soviet Union is a social fact, the analysts say, just as it is in the United States. People come to power there just as they do here, with the aid of powerful constituencies—the oil industry or military contractors in the United States, perhaps, and the Red Army or the KGB in the Soviet Union. In either country if you want to know what leaders "believe"

ask first *whom do they owe?*

This is the art of Kremlinology. In essence it is the scientific method applied to politics. Medvedev, a biologist by training, shows how it works in his new biography, *Gorbachev* (W.W. Norton, 272 pp., \$15.95), a fine, lucid book with maybe enough personal detail about Gorbachev himself to fill three paragraphs in *People* magazine without padding. Medvedev provides a plausible working explanation of why Gorbachev is the new General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and not merely a rival for power in the Politburo.

It's slow going at first—no characters in the usual sense, just committees, strange job titles, patron-client networks, squibs in *Pravda*, line-ups on the reviewing stand in Red Square on the occasion of major parades, and the like. But Medvedev explains his evidence clearly. After 100 pages of this sort of thing you begin to get a feel for it, and realize that Kremlin secrecy fails to hide completely what is going on.

Gorbachev's rise is history. What to expect next is the subject of Seweryn Bialer's long study of *The Soviet Paradox* (Alfred A. Knopf, 391 pp., \$22.95). Bialer, a Pole by birth, is a leading Sovietologist at Columbia University who combines traditional scholarly research with frequent trips to the Soviet Union for discussions with mostly anonymous officials.

From one point of view the Soviet Union is a dazzling one-man show. Without allies or friends, surrounded by (mostly Communist) enemies, the Soviet Union is nevertheless a recognized world power. But at the same time, according to this view, the country is falling apart internally—incapable of making anything the rest of the world wants to buy, chronically short of food to feed her own population, technically backward. How long can Moscow keep this ball in the air? Bialer's answer is not long, unless the world's most conservative political system manages fundamental reforms.

The study of the Soviet Union is far from academic. The Russians are the other half of the Cold War which threatens us both. *Pravda* blames it all on us; President Reagan and his predecessors have mostly blamed it all on them. If either were right the problem would be insoluble. How could we change them, or they us? Together we might figure it out. This requires understanding—not quite the same thing as accepting—them as they are. I am no expert on the Soviet Union but in this space I shall try to draw attention to the work of those who are.

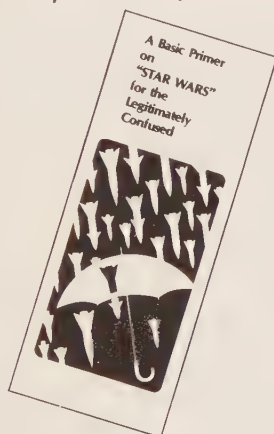
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# Research Aids

## ARTICLES

**"Pork Bellies and SDI"** by Peter D. Zimmerman (*Foreign Policy*, Summer 1986). Zimmerman, a fellow at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, argues that SDI's proposed four-layer defense represents the potential for an effective strategic defense, but that the plan also entails great risks. He points out that the entire defense could completely collapse if only one tier is overloaded slightly. Worse, the damage to the defender's homeland may be greater with a strategic defense, because the attacker would use a larger force than would have been necessary without the defense.

## REPORTS

**Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers**, by Barry M. Blechman and Michael Krepon (Commissioned by the Center for Strategic & International Studies, Georgetown University, 1800 K Street NW, Ste. 400, Washington, DC 20006 202-887-0200 \$7.95 inc. postage and handling). National communication centers in Moscow and Washington could help head off potentially explosive situations worldwide, according to the authors. They argue that the 24-hour centers should not be used to resolve substantive issues but rather to provide options for national leaders during a crisis, allow instantaneous communications between technical experts, and provide training for crisis prevention teams.

## BOOKS

**The Long Darkness: Psychological and Moral Perspectives on Nuclear Winter**, edited by Lester Grinspoon (Yale University Press, 213 pp., \$7.95). An impressive array of scholars from a myriad of disciplines, including psychologist Erik Erikson, biologist Stephen Jay Gould, ethicist Bryan Hehir, and psychiatrist John E. Mack, offer explanations for the irrational behavior of political leaders who risk the consequences of nuclear war and for the reluctance of ordinary citizens to face the horror of the nuclear threat. Carl Sagan offers some policy implications of the nuclear winter theory.

**Arms in the '80s: New Developments in the Global Arms Race**, by John Turner and SIPRI (Taylor & Francis, 118 pp., \$9.00). Known for its technical (and expensive) Yearbooks, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) commissioned this more popular account, based on the 1985 SIPRI Yearbook. It packages SIPRI's usual up-to-date information on trends in the arms race, world military expenditures and the

trade in conventional arms, this time with appealing charts, photos and cartoons.

**Weapons in Space**, edited by Franklin A. Long, Donald Hafner, and Jeffrey Boutwell (W.W. Norton & Co., 386 pp., \$16.95). In this large text of opinion, reprinted from two recent issues of *Daedalus*, 21 distinguished experts, including Hans Bethe, Ashton Carter, Abram Chayes, and George Rathjens, offer a range of military, technical, and political arguments for and against SDI.

**A Game for High Stakes: Lessons Learned in Negotiating with the Soviet Union**, edited by Leon Sloss and M. Scott Davis (Ballinger, 184 pp., \$24.95). The authors, some of them former U.S. arms control and trade negotiators, take a look at the differences in Soviet and American delegates' styles, backgrounds and institutions that hinder successful negotiations. They argue that to complete arms control agreements each side needs patience, clear objectives, informal soundings, "back channel" discussion and strong national leadership.

**Nuclear Strategy, Arms Control, and the Future**, edited by P. Edward Haley, David M. Keithly, and Jack Merritt (Westview Press, 372 pp., \$15.95). This basic text reprints primary sources on the 40-year history of the nuclear age. Writings, which are wide-ranging, include "Nuclear Strategy: The Case for a Theory of Victory," by Colin S. Gray; "Summary of Defense of Japan," by the Government of Japan; and "A Bilateral Nuclear-Weapon Freeze," by Randall Forsberg.

**Avoiding War in the Nuclear Age: Confidence-Building Measures for Crisis Stability**, edited by John Borawski (Westview Press, 234 pp., \$24.50). Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) offer one way out of the arms control morass, suggests this collection of essays on a neglected subject. By clarifying military intentions and operations through such potentially simple procedures as exchanging data on peacetime military maneuvers and declaring benign intent, CBMs can help reduce the chances that war would arise from surprise attack, miscalculation, or failure of communication.

**Strategic Defenses: Ballistic Missile Defense Technologies, Anti-Satellite Weapons, Countermeasures, and Arms Control**, by the Office of Technology Assessment (Princeton University Press, 470 pp., \$12.50). This volume packages OTA's detailed and non-partisan approach to the political and technical controversies of the Strategic Defense Initiative. It pays particular attention to the short- and long-term options Congress faces as it weighs the extent of its commitment to the Administration's research proposals. ☐



# INTERACTIONS

## GROUP NEWS AND COMMENT



### EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

#### ESR IN THE CLASSROOM

ESR members teach their students that making thoughtful and compassionate decisions begins with examining many sides of an issue, understanding and respecting other points of view, and identifying common values.

This is part of nuclear age education, which has its own critics with different perspectives. "If you teach about nuclear war," one parent writes, "then say it wouldn't be America's fault and that we would survive it."

ESR is challenged to understand and respect views that reject the basis of our teaching. The criticisms of nuclear age education seem to fall into three categories:

- *scaring children* ("creating and fanning fears, then demanding public schools take care of them");
- *biased materials* ("selective history," "pacifist politics," "designed to change the values of children"); and
- *indoctrination* ("brainwashing children with peace songs," "encouraging students to become liberal activists," "indoctrinating them in the nuclear freeze movement").

ESR does see common ground with its critics. For example, the following classroom goals address those criticisms just described.

- *Creating Democracy*: In common with the parents quoted

above, ESR agrees it is wrong to frighten children with adult concerns. Students need to have a strong, hopeful vision of their future. Unfortunately, many students enter our classrooms with little confidence that they can shape their lives. They are often cynical about the value of participation in democracy and doubt their opinions will ever count for much. They are unaware of individuals who have made a difference in history. ESR works to counteract that despair. We nurture students' dreams of a secure and satisfying future and teach the value of democratic participation to help create it.

- *Detecting Bias*: We agree with the critics that it is irresponsible to teach students a selective and biased history. However, ESR also recognizes that bias exists in every resource. Therefore, we teach students how to detect propaganda and bias in all materials as part of the thinking and decision-making process. Students examine a range of perspectives on controversial issues to broaden their understanding of the problem, search for the assumptions and values underlying each view, and begin to make up their own minds on public issues.

- *Thoughtful Decision Making*: ESR promotes independent and creative thinking—the opposite of indoctrination. Solving the dilemma of security in the nuclear age requires active citizens conscious of persuasive techniques, able to think clearly and compassionately about complex issues.

This is at the heart of ESR's workshops and publications—teaching students not *what* but *how* to think, by incorporating the values of dialogue, empathy, cooperation, negotiation, and peace in the thinking process itself.

Please write us at 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 492-1764 for more information.



PEACE LINKS

#### THE SOVIET CONNECTION

Inspired by the visit of 13 Soviet women to communities across America last October, Peace Links congressional wives and the George Mason University Center for Conflict Resolution have been studying "U.S.-Soviet Relations: Myths and Realities."

David Shipler, formerly based in Moscow for *The New York Times*, and currently a Washington correspondent and author of *Russia: Broken Idols, Solemn Dreams*, was the opening speaker on the subject, "The View of the Soviet Union from America—and the Realities."

Subsequent speakers were Dr. Priscilla Roosevelt, Catholic University historian, who discussed aspects of Soviet society that shape Soviet responses to the Western world; Professor Leo Hecht, cultural historian at George Mason, who lectured on "Russian Life through Russian Eyes"; Dr. John Burton of George Mason, who spoke on a "Global Framework for Problem Solving in U.S./Soviet Relations"; and Professor Ralph

K. White of George Washington University, who spoke about "Soviet and American Perceptions of One Another." While congressional wives are the initial audience for this series, Peace Links hopes to make tapes available to its local affiliates.

#### Peace Quilt Update

According to folksinger Pete Seeger (referring to the National Peace Quilt), "We'll stitch this world together yet." Yes we'll stitch, sing, paint, and literally draw the world together. Creativity is a powerful glue, and art is a powerful and empowering peacemaking tool.

The Peace Links Iowa Peace Quilt is a meaningful image of the world drawn together. This peacemaking effort, tenderly appliqued, pieced and stitched, has inspired thoughtful people throughout Iowa. The quilt has been shown in libraries, banks and at churches, and has even hung in the Federated Women's Clubs' annual quilt show. It has also been slept under by local public officials. Governor Terry Branstad wrote: "... the best thought that came to me beneath the Peace Links quilt was a quote I had once read from President Truman: 'Our goal must be—not peace in our time. But, peace for all time.'"

For more information on the Iowa Peace quilt, contact Olive Wilson, Route 1, Primghar, Iowa 51046. And for more information about Peace Links, contact us at 747 8th St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 544-0805.



# COALITION

For a New Foreign and Military Policy

## STOP U.S.-SPONSORED TERRORISM

The U.S. attack against Libya this April, which mainly killed innocent civilians, must be called by its true name: terrorism. It was given another name—a retaliatory strike against terrorism—but it is no less an act of terror itself, and it was seen as such not only in Libya but throughout the world. In Great Britain, for example, two-thirds of the public deplored the U.S. raid and Prime Minister Thatcher's compliance with it.

But in the United States, public opinion swung behind the President. Nearly every member of Congress, including Ted Kennedy and Tip O'Neill, endorsed the bombing. Few senators, notably Republicans Weicker and Hatfield, denounced the raid. "Before, only they had the blood of innocents on their hands," Hatfield said. "Now we both do."

These senators deserve our support for speaking out. We must condemn the violence on several grounds.

First, the attack on Libya is state-sponsored terrorism against innocent civilians—the very thing we say we deplore.

Second, the bombing of Libya will not stop terrorism. Terrorism arises from economic and political conditions, not simply "madmen." To halt terrorism we must reexamine our policies in the Middle East and begin to change them so that they are more evenhanded and less provocative.

Third, our attack risks escalating the military confrontation

between the United States and Libya. Such a confrontation could lead to a cycle of action and reaction that involves both superpowers and their nuclear arsenals. Certainly the Libyans will not surrender their political and military goals as the Reagan Administration seems to naively hope. Instead of "detering" the Libyans we are likely to provoke them.

Fourth, the act serves to unite Arab nations in opposition to U.S. policy in the region. It leads them to support Kaddafi in spite of their hesitations about his activities. Instead of isolating Kaddafi, we have enhanced his legitimacy among Arab and African nations, and this is a loss for us in the region.

Fifth, we have set a dangerous precedent, both for ourselves and the world. The U.S. attack has provided President Botha of South Africa the legitimacy he needed to attack three neighboring countries. South African military aggression is now being waged throughout the region under the mantle of "counter-terrorism."

Unfortunately, the military success of the attack has created a reckless climate in Congress. Already there is a move to exempt "anti-terrorist" military action from the War Powers Act. This would allow the President a freer reign in the use of military power (S.2335 and H.4611).

We must express opposition to Reagan's militaristic foreign policy, not only because it is wrong, but because it is counterproductive. Undoubtedly we have strengthened the more radical, anti-U.S. segments of Arab politics. And we have raised the ante in a dangerous conflict—the kind of conflict that could one day bring us to the nuclear brink.

For more information contact the Coalition at 712 6 St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-8400.



## RX: STOP NUCLEAR TESTING

*In search of: a nuclear weapons test ban. Superpower nation, age 69, often insecure, cranky, competitive, aggressive, seeks partner with similarly destructive idiosyncrasies and arsenals to work toward reform of shared unseemly habits. Verifiability guaranteed. Age and ideology unimportant. Will go the extra mile for the right match. Interim cooperation could lead to permanent arrangement. Contact Gorb, Box 1, Kremlin.*

If Americans were somewhat skeptical about the authenticity of General Secretary Gorbachev's commitment to a test ban when he first announced the unilateral Soviet testing moratorium last July, he has since given us plenty of reason to take a serious second look.

The clear intent of the Reagan Administration to continue testing—and the vituperation it heaped on Mr. Gorbachev in saying so—didn't seem to faze the Soviet leader a bit. On New Year's day he extended the unconditional moratorium through March 31, and pledged to refrain from testing after that date for as long as the United States would exercise similar restraint. As a consequence of the U.S. test on April 10, he declared the Soviet Union to be free of its self-imposed test ban, but in the face of U.S. predictions to the contrary the Soviet Union didn't actually test.

Mr. Gorbachev's formal reinstatement of the Soviet unilateral moratorium on May 14 may in part be an attempt to make

up for the damage that Chernobyl did to the Soviets' international image. But look at the bottom line: By August 6, 1986, the Soviets will have gone for over a year without a weapons test, while the United States has tested a dozen times in the past 10 months.

PSR has been working on the test ban issue since 1984. In Congress, PSR worked actively with like-minded organizations to launch legislation that would suspend funds earmarked for nuclear weapons testing for as long as the Soviet Union refrains from testing. To increase grass-roots support for the suspension, we have now fielded a public education campaign—called Code Blue—to stress the urgency of a bilateral moratorium and, ultimately, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Major elements of Code Blue include the passage of city council resolutions calling upon Congress to suspend funds for testing; collection of physicians' prescription forms reading "Rx: Stop Nuclear Testing" for delivery to the White House and Congress; chapter events aimed at stimulating media coverage of the issue; and outreach activities through the PSR speakers program. PSR physicians from around the country gathered in Washington on June 14 to dramatize the need for a mutual testing moratorium, alerted elected officials to the growing public support for a test ban, and coordinated Code Blue strategies leading to Hiroshima Day on August 6. Our message to grass-roots Americans—that a test ban is a risk-free instrument for enhancing U.S. national security—is a compelling one. And, as a former Secretary of State would say, it has the additional advantage of being true.

For more information, contact PSR at 1601 Connecticut Av. NW, Ste. 800, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 939-5750.



## ADPSR

Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility

### USA/USSR ARCHITECTS & PLANNERS MEET

At the invitation of the USSR Union of Architects, a delegation of four ADPSR members—Tician Papachristou, FAIA; Sidney Gilbert, FAIA; Chester Hartman and Mauri Tamarin—visited the USSR from May 12 through May 21, 1986, and met with the USSR Union president and representatives. Discussions focused on the formation of a new international organization of their professions to work for world peace.

A joint statement issued by Tician Papachristou, president of ADPSR and Anatoli Poliansky, president of the USSR Union of Architects, pointed to the special place of the professions in achieving a world without war: "Our historical role has been to create and preserve the built environment. Nuclear weapons and the consequent danger of nuclear war are a profound threat to our cities, our homes, our countryside and our community institutions.

"It is the special task of architects, urban planners and designers to make our fellow professionals, the public, and our leaders aware of the need to eliminate the nuclear menace, to stop the arms race and to prevent its escalation into outer space.

"Other professional groups," the statement went on to say, "scientists, lawyers, doctors and others, have creatively used their special skills to analyze the consequences of nuclear

war, to make their findings known to the public and to their political leaders and to offer specific ways to create a peaceful world. We can and should do no less."

The joint statement concluded: "In our two countries and throughout the world, money is needed to provide decent housing, schools, hospitals, community centers and transit systems. The enormous sums of money spent each year could and should be used to build what people need, not evermore powerful and dangerous tools of destruction."

A 12-person preparation committee chaired by Poliansky and Papachristou has been appointed to bring the new organization into being. The committee consists of persons prominent in their professions who have demonstrated a past commitment to nuclear disarmament.

Once the tentative decisions made at the Moscow meetings can be discussed and ratified by the members of the two organizations, the new organization will be called "International Architects/Designers/Planners for the Prevention of Nuclear War." Its long-range goal will be to actively promote the reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and other means of mass destruction, both on earth and in space. An immediate goal will be a moratorium on the testing of nuclear weapons leading to a comprehensive test ban treaty. Once the joint statement is ratified, the new organization will issue a call to architects, planners, designers, and organizations all over the world to join in this international effort.

For more information contact ADPSR, 225 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 431-3756.

## sane

### "FIND THE BOMB"

The luggage glistens in the strong studio light. In advertising, it's called a beauty shot. Three luxurious suitcases are skillfully, almost lovingly, arranged against a lush background. The photo, tightly cropped, becomes the ad's visual center. Then comes the headline: "Find the nuclear bomb in this set of designer luggage."

That message stood out starkly in the gray pages of *The New York Times* when SANE kicked off its nationwide media and organizing campaign for a nuclear test ban. Other ads followed in the *Washington Post* and on radio. Then came nationwide radio documentaries and a blizzard of ads, fliers, and brochures carried door-to-door across America by over 250 canvass organizers to nearly 10,000 homes a night.

The *Times* ad is designed to be simple—a shocker. The copy says, "Thanks to billions of dollars in research and underground testing, it is now possible to fit a powerful nuclear warhead into an airline carry-on bag." In one jarring moment, the fragility of everyday life in the nuclear age, the technical advances of miniaturization and first-strike weapons, the threat of proliferation and nuclear blackmail, all pulse off the page.

The ads have stirred things up. Like celebrated SANE ads of the late 1950's and early 1960's in the campaign against open air testing, they strike deep chords. The times, especially

since Chernobyl, are seen as perilous, and the public is long since ready to stop all nuclear testing.

According to a nationwide Opinion Research Corporation poll commissioned by SANE, 80 percent of all Americans think that both the United States and Soviet Union should stop testing "at least until the second summit." Only 16 percent opposed a mutual moratorium, and, significantly, only four percent had no opinion at all. Even the readers of *People* magazine, in its 1986 poll, when asked what cause they would go out and demonstrate for, picked a nuclear freeze for an easy first place (32 percent).

Clearly something significant is afoot here. Demonstrations and arrests in Nevada, along with a rapidly growing list of over 100 municipalities, counties, and states that endorse the Comprehensive Test Ban, signify that public opinion is at least coalescing and crystallizing.

Americans have once again found the bomb. Like the classic SANE campaigns a generation ago, the new drive combines sophistication in political and nuclear arms control strategy with a simple, bone-chilling message: Nuclear bombs are real, and the Administration wants even more. The first SANE campaign took from 1957 to 1963, through moratoria, lost summit meetings, and on into a new administration. But once public opinion had turned, there was no going back. Now the final weeks before Hiroshima Day and the fall elections can once again take American opinion around a corner. As the SANE *New York Times* ad says, "All we have to say is yes."

— Bob Musil

For information on SANE's CTB campaign and ads, or annual membership in SANE, write SANE, 711 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-7100.





## NEEDED: NEW PRIORITIES

Today, many countries have a higher literacy rate than the United States. Our educational system, once the pride of this nation, does not give encouragement and training to millions of Americans. Be it health care, housing development or nutrition programs, the United States lags behind many nations. In fact, one of the few areas in which the United States leads is in the production of weapons for mass destruction. Since 1980, military spending has more than doubled, while domestic spending has decreased significantly. The real cost of the arms race is becoming more visible with each passing year. The Administration fears that its military buildup is in danger, while economists and social planners fear the social fabric of this nation is being eroded.

To address this problem of limited resources to finance both bread and bombs, the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign held a conference on May 31 on a "Common Sense Defense Budget." The conference brought together a number of scholars to examine the proposition that real security depends upon progress in arms control, developing a quality educational system, insuring a productive civilian economy and rebuilding America's cities and infrastructure.

At the conference Gordon Adams, director of the Defense Budget Project, said "The Administration has now put out a

series of announcements basically crying wolf—the wolf, the Soviet Union, is once again at the door." Crying wolf is the Administration's way to manipulate public opinion into accepting a military build-up that, according to polling data, the public is rejecting. We can no longer accept the military build-up because it is eroding our ability to improve the quality of life. Children can not go to the college of their choice. Parents face incredible hardships as Medicare is cut. Communities fall apart because roads are in disrepair. Economist Seymour Melman spoke about the need to repair the nation's infrastructure before the damage reaches dangerous proportions.

The choice of plenary speaker was Paul Warnke, chief SALT II negotiator. Referring to the Administration's recent attacks on SALT II, Warnke said it reflected Reagan's "visceral antipathy to arms control." He called on the President to show some evidence that he had read the treaty. Warnke explained, "There's always been a debate within an Administration between the NUTS and those who believe that MAD is better." MAD, of course stands for Mutual Assured Destruction. "NUTS," he said, "I think stands for Nuclear Utilization Theorists." Warnke asserted that in this case "The NUTS have won."

As the Freeze Campaign searches for a new agenda, it will have to include, according to Freeze Executive Director Jane Gruenebaum, "a definition of national security that rests not only on military solutions, but on a clearer understanding of political institutions and processes for conflict resolution."

For more information, contact the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 I St NE, Ste 130, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-0880.



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## A MOVEMENT OF ALL PEOPLE

True or False: All people in the nuclear disarmament movement are middle class and white.

False: The nuclear disarmament movement includes farm workers, black legislators, Native Americans, Hispanics and other people of color. Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN) counts 14 minority organizations in its coalition of 60 national membership organizations. Among them are Americans for Indian Opportunity, Japanese-American Citizens' League, League of United Latin American Citizens, National Council of Negro Women and National Urban League.

Also among members of CAN are national organizations with sizable minority memberships, such as ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now), National Association of Social Workers, National Education Association, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, United Farm Workers of America and the YWCA.

When CAN started to put together its recent conference on "The Nuclear Arms Race: Survival Dilemma for People of Color," the first decision was to name a planning committee composed entirely of people of color. Called together by Con-

ference Coordinator Darryl Rogers, who is black, the committee planned the agenda and the title of the conference, suggested speakers and workshop topics, and provided lists for invitations.

The process brought together many groups and individuals who had never before worked together. The link between them was their desire to promote nuclear disarmament for the benefit not only of the United States but also for people of color around the globe.

Serving on the planning committee were: Peggy Brown, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; LaDonna Harris, Americans for Indian Opportunity; Wade Henderson, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Jennifer Henderson, Jobs with Peace; Carlottia Scott, Office of Representative Ron Dellums; Rita Gerona-Adkins and Kathy Lee, Organization of Pan Asian American Women; Ethiopia Alfred, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Also: Katy Shaw and Allan Gregory, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign; Leimomi Apolonia Brown, National Committee for Radiation Victims; Jo Uehara, Young Women's Christian Association; Shafiah M'Balia, American Friends Service Committee; Ada Sanchez, Greenpeace; Khalil Abdullah, National Black Caucus of State Legislators; Cecilia McCall, Women for Racial and Economic Equality; and Charles Williams, National Education Association.

—Georgianna Rathbun

For further information, contact CAN, 1201 16th St. NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 822-7483.



**WOMEN'S ACTION FOR  
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, INC.**

## PEACE FOR MOTHER'S DAY

Mother's Day has been a special occasion at WAND for several years, and 1986 was no exception. While grass-roots activists around the country held events challenging the Administration's military budget and policy priorities, WAND founder Dr. Helen Caldicott was discussing her retirement from her active speaking role at a press conference at Boston's Park Plaza Hotel. The occasion of the press conference was the presentation of the Helen Caldicott Leadership Award to actress Marlo Thomas and to writer Alice Walker—two women who, through their artistic achievements and political activism, have become role models for women as leaders in the nuclear age.

Ironically, Ms. Thomas and her husband, talk show host Phil Donahue, were assailed *en route* to the award ceremony by a man who objected to their antinuclear positions. "I thought, 'It's a good thing this man didn't have nuclear weapons on him,'" Ms. Thomas said later. "He would have blown up the world. This brought home to me that we can't settle our disputes with violence."

Later that evening, in her speech before a group of nearly 300 people who attended WAND's Mother's Day Ball, Ms. Thomas spoke eloquently about her personal commitment to halting the nuclear arms race:

"Our major role in wartime as women has been to mourn. We populate the earth and then water it with our tears.

"Well, mourning becomes us no longer. Experience has taught us a great deal about the futility of tears. They don't

get bills passed in Congress. When you live through a losing battle for the ERA, when you see that 75 percent of this country's poor adults are women, it doesn't make you feel better to cry. Tears—the bailiwick of women—are as out of date as the Patton tank. We have changed. On Mother's Day, we don't want a card with feminine sentiments on it. We want a real present for Mother's Day. We want peace.

"... We have just seen Chernobyl spew radiation under a blanket of official half truths. ... Who dares to imagine that what leaks into the drinking water of the Ukraine today will not leak into the Charles River tomorrow? Who dares to imagine that what is too dangerous to keep on earth is not too dangerous to launch into the upper atmosphere with the Star Wars program?

"Who dares to imagine that the Strategic Defense Initiative, costing \$70 billion over a 10-year period, will not further destroy our ability to meet real human needs, leaving more people poor, more people homeless, more people hungry?

"The enemy is not just the Soviet government, which lied to the world about a disaster that endangers the world. The enemy is not just Ronald Reagan who is the first president since Truman *not* to negotiate for a nuclear test ban. The enemy is imagining that the other guy is the only guy who screws up. The enemy is self-delusion. On all sides. In all languages.

"... Who can snuff out the sickness of self-delusion and stop it from leading our world to hell? Maybe an aroused and unsentimental and steadfast international network of women has a chance. Let's drop the network on the bomb."

Contact WAND at P.O. Box 153, New Town Branch, Boston, MA 02258 (617) 643-6740.



# Putting It On The Line In Nevada

*Test site arrests reach new high*

BY CATHY CEVOLI

John Mack, a Pulitzer Prize-winning author and Harvard psychiatrist, was the first member of his family to hear of the Nevada Test Site demonstration. After consulting with his wife, Sally, the couple called their three sons—Ken, Dan and Tony, all in their 20s—and following discussions that lasted “every night for two weeks,” decided to head west from Massachusetts together. “We thought it was important to take a stand as a family,” explained Sally, a social worker. They also knew their joint appearance would make good media copy.

But it was the boys who first decided to get arrested. Introducing themselves to their affinity group on the eve of the June 2 civil disobedience (CD) action at the test site, both parents paused and said they were there “for support” only.

Mack admitted that one reason for his indecision was professional. Author of one of the first surveys of children's fears of nuclear war, Mack is academic director of Cambridge Hospital's Nuclear Psychology Program. “There is a danger of getting identified as too much of an advocate, one of those people who gets arrested,” Mack said. “It could make me seem subjective or isolate me from people I work with.”

Sally Mack faced a different struggle. “I realize that my fear of thinking about the nuclear threat is behind my fear of civil disobedience,” she explained. For Sally, doing CD would mean admitting once and for all that nuclear war was really possible, a psychological step that seemed more frightening than getting arrested.

## FIRST-TIME OFFENDERS

Held from May 31 to June 2, the action was the first national event organized by the American Peace Test (APT) since its formation in January. Saturday's event, a demonstration held at the test site, was co-sponsored by the national Freeze Campaign (APT's founders were formerly Freeze Campaign organizers). Staffers of the fledgling group hope to spark a nationwide CD campaign, one that will attract new participants from “mainstream” peace groups. Economist Lester



Heat and bust: Nevada peace tester

Thurow, who donated \$2000 to APT last year to help it get started, has written a direct-mail appeal calling on others to help him raise \$50,000 for the group.

Almost everyone at the action seemed to have both political and personal reasons for coming. Many activists mentioned the imperative of the Soviet testing moratorium, and the conviction that CD needed to start playing as large a role in the test ban fight as it did in the civil rights movement. “We need to be more militant,” said teacher and Freeze volunteer Russell Storll, who spent two-and-a-half days on a bus *en route* to Nevada. “I’m so damn tired of feeling I’m not doing enough.” Like Storll, many in the largely middle class crowd, which ranged greatly in age and included several parents with grown children, had never been involved in CD before.

“I’m sick of yelling at the TV,” said television writer and producer Annie Druyan. “I’ve been studying this issue for five years, and I haven’t done enough to stop what I think is evil.” Druyan was arrested for the first time, with her husband Carl Sagan, who did not get arrested, accompanying her as a support person. (The couple spent their wedding anniversary on the site.)

Another first-time offender was Harvard psychiatrist Lester Grinspoon, a

leading writer on nuclear psychology. Since getting arrested to stop the arms race hasn’t acquired the legitimacy that it has for issues like apartheid, many newcomers were taking a giant step. “My colleagues will probably say I’m acting out again,” Grinspoon said, half-joking.

“People in the past have viewed CD as a radical step that only the fringe of any movement takes,” said APT national coordinator Jessie Cocks. “But more people are realizing that we can’t achieve our goals without it. Lots of people came here who’d been afraid of getting arrested, or who said ‘I never thought it would have to come to this.’”

These first-timers joined such CD veterans as Daniel Ellsberg, Harvard psychiatrist Margaret Brenman-Gibson—who had encouraged her colleagues Mack and Grinspoon to join the action—and 77-year-old Lawrence Scott, one of 11 people arrested at the first test site action in 1957.

Since the demonstration site is 65 miles northwest of Las Vegas, not the least of APT’s accomplishments was attracting so many to a remote location in the middle of the desert. Over 700 people from 35 states (and six countries) attended Saturday’s demonstration, and 149 were arrested on Monday, setting a test site CD record.

Saturday’s crowd gathered on Camp Desert Rock, the place where soldiers involved in aboveground tests were once rained on with radiation, and heard speeches by Ellsberg, Sagan, and Freeze Executive Director Jane Gruenebaum, among others. Oregon Representative Jim Weaver seemed to impress the crowd with his almost religious condemnation of nuclear tests, as well as for facing the 100° weather in a suit.

After the rally, while a third of the group stayed to camp just outside the site, the rest faced the culture shock of returning to hotels in the capital of psychic numbing. But Mae Gautier of New York City was delighted to find that the paper crane she had given her hotel clerk after her first arrest was still pinned to the hotel’s bulletin board a year later.

## CROSSING THE LINE

For much of Sunday, during an all-day strategy session in preparation for civil

TONY BLEI



disobedience, debate centered on what form the action should take. Most activists wanted to cross the DOE's arbitrary white line and surrender peacefully to the authorities, but others favored options that would make the demonstration more difficult for the police and/or allow people to venture further onto the site. After several hours of overtime discussion, consensus was finally reached on the first, more cooperative action.

Despite—or because of—this ordeal, a growing sense of unity and purpose was palpable on Monday morning. After a long early-morning drive, the group of about 300 activists (both those intending to do CD and their “support people”) gathered along Highway 95 at 6:00 a.m. to “vigil” arriving test site workers.

For many activists, the real meaning of the location of this action had been hard to grasp. While everyone knew what goes on at the site, it nonetheless looked eerily benign. “The beauty of the desert gives you a sense of serenity,” said Helga Moore, a New York activist, “but then there’s the horror and the hell underneath.” Less than two months earlier a faulty test in an underground tunnel had vented radiation, causing millions of dollars in damage and contaminating three workers. The recognition of hidden menace seemed to hit home as the activists—many clearly emotional—approached the white line.

Holding hands, small groups of protesters crossed the painted line and were led away, sometimes amid the cheers of friends, to waiting busses to be “processed.” (Nye County Court Judge William Sullivan, popular among activists for his temperate demeanor, has stiffened his sentences in the last two years, due to—APT suspects—federal pressure and his own frustration at dealing with escalating arrests.) First-time offenders faced six days in jail or a \$150 fine.

#### RIPPLE EFFECTS

Since APT organizers view the event as only the beginning of a long-term campaign, they are reluctant to gauge its effectiveness. Locally, the events received good media coverage, due perhaps to growing antinuclear sentiment in Nevada, where stories of waste-dump selection have helped create what APT feels is a growing dislike of the DOE. But with the exception of *USA Today*, the *Chicago Tribune* and a small blurb hidden in the *Boston Globe*, the national media ignored the event. Still, it’s difficult to ignore the number of people who came to Nevada because of someone else’s example. “This has an effect on people’s lives,” said Ed McClain of Corvallis, Oregon, who was warmly welcomed back by workers he’d met doing commu-

nity service for his last arrest.

Cocks believes that nonviolent CD needs to be more integrated, along with lobbying and other tactics, into movement strategy. Already, the ongoing actions at the test site have raised the visibility of the test ban issue at a critical time in congressional deliberations, according to one key Capitol Hill aide. And, Cocks added, “each of these people will go back to their communities and organize with that much more passion. I have incredible faith in the experience. It can’t not work.”

In the end, it “worked” for John and Sally Mack, who finally decided on Sunday night to get arrested on Monday. “I’m not sure I’m doing the right thing,” Mack admitted an hour before he crossed the line. “I may regret it. But there just don’t seem to be any considerations more important.” Besides, he added, “it just seems the height of parental irresponsibility to watch my sons get arrested and wave at them from the other side of the line.” The Macks were arrested—and later faced Judge Sullivan—*en famille*.

One week later, John Mack described the process as liberating. “I feel like I’ve crossed an important line within myself,” Mack reported. Since returning from Nevada he has written an article on CD and read a lot of Thoreau. “We have a barrier about breaking the law which seems formidable,” said Mack. “But when times become desperate, it’s essential that people say ‘no.’ I wouldn’t just recommend this to my colleagues,” he added. “I’d tell them it’s absolutely critical to take every opportunity to do this.” □

## Profile: Peace Petitioner

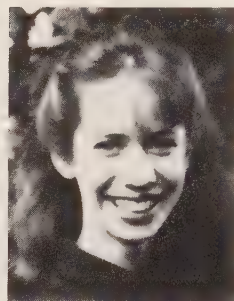
BY ROBIN WIEN

Camilla Taylor cannot remember a time when she was not upset about the threat of nuclear war. “I have always been angry that human beings could be so stupid,” she says with a 15-year-old’s candor, “and I’m angry with adults who act as if [the threat of nuclear war] isn’t very important.”

But Taylor is not one, as she says, to “bottle something up inside” herself. Instead, following the example provided by generations of frustrated American citizens, the teenager from Cleveland, Ohio, exercised her constitutional rights to petition.

In two and a half years, Taylor has amassed 81,500 signatures from children in 40 countries on a petition calling for

a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze. (Her original goal was a modest 2000 names.) She began by circulating the petition in her all-girls school. Then she started speaking at area schools, churches, and



Camilla Taylor

various community gatherings. Word got around, and other students took up the cause. Noel Celeste, the daughter of Ohio Governor Richard Celeste, for example, circulated the petition among children of U.S. governors. As a result of several

write-ups about Taylor in local peace newsletters, teachers from more schools requested copies of the petition. Taylor also sent petitions to friends of her parents in Holland, West Germany, and Israel. The dozens of stacks of paper—including 2400 letters from Soviet-bloc countries—piled high in her bedroom tell the rest of the story.

“A lot of times, I don’t even know who’s sending the petitions to me,” Taylor says. “They come without a note or anything on them.”

But Taylor, an honor student who enjoys drawing and playing the flute, hardly sits at home waiting for the mail to arrive. She’s done a good deal of the footwork for the project herself, delivering petitions (and/or carefully rehearsed speeches, sometimes in other languages) to Congress, the Soviet Embassy, the United Nations, and groups in Holland and Hungary, where she spoke at the 1985 International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) conference, as well as several international youth camps.

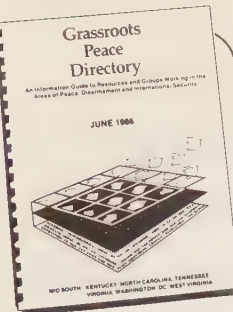
“All the kids [campers] signed the petition readily, and weren’t afraid to put their names and addresses on the petition of an American girl,” Taylor says. “I wouldn’t expect that American children would be so trusting of someone from an Eastern bloc country.”

Taylor, now a seasoned public speaker, has appeared on Soviet and Dutch television, and has been covered by publications in France, Canada, Japan, the Soviet Union and Italy. She’s probably less well known in the United States. Of her 81,500 signatures, roughly 10,000 are domestic, a situation Taylor attributes to an indifferent American press.

Taylor wants to accumulate 100,000 signatures by the fall, and plans to deliver them to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev at their next summit. In this way, Taylor says, “we can make a difference, even though we can’t



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vote, by letting adults know that young people care about their futures."

As a result of her efforts, Taylor was among several Ohio recipients of the Governor's Award for Peace in 1985, and has been nominated by Governor Celeste for the national Young American Medal for Service. This is one honor, however, that Taylor does not expect to receive. "I don't think," she says, "that my kind of service is quite what the Administration has in mind." □

For copies of the petition, contact Taylor at 2894 Meadowbrook Blvd, Cleveland Heights, OH 44118.

## Towering Resistance

BY JAMES MOSKE

One year ago NUCLEAR TIMES reported on Pentagon plans for the construction of a Ground Wave Emergency Network (GWEN) communications system. GWEN is designed to withstand a nuclear attack (though its ability or inability to do so is a subject of much Pentagon debate), and to help coordinate the fighting of a protracted nuclear war. Phase I of the program, the construction of nine radio towers, has now been completed. The Air Force plans to finish Phase II, the construction of 56 more towers and 38 radio terminals, by the end of this year. Towers and terminals from Phases I and II will be located in 36 states. A request for \$167 million in the fiscal year 1987 Defense budget for GWEN is now under consideration by the sub-committees for Defense Appropriations in both houses of Congress. This money would be used to begin Phase III of the program, the construction of 70 more towers and about 100 additional terminals.

At the same time, grass-roots resistance to the towers is growing. Lois Barber, co-director of the GWEN Project in Amherst, Massachusetts, says that there is active opposition to GWEN in over 25 states where the Air Force plans construction of the system. In many cases, this opposition has succeeded in stalling construction. For example, nearly one and a half years after the Air Force chose Amherst as a tower site, it has yet to break ground.

The Air Force has not taken grass-roots resistance lying down. It is currently in the midst of its own campaign to win public support for GWEN, and has met with concerned citizens and local government officials in an effort to clear up "misunderstandings" of what GWEN is

all about. "Some of the information being circulated is erroneous," says GWEN public affairs spokesman Richard McCluskey. "I just try to balance the story by giving them accurate information." In addition, the Air Force has distributed flyers at these meetings, one of which pictures a figure resembling a Revolutionary War "Minuteman" with a GWEN tower behind him. The caption reads: "Vigilant Then—Vigilant Now." □

For more information on GWEN sites nationwide, contact the GWEN Project, PO Box 135, Amherst, MA 01004 (413) 253-2939.

## CTB Resolutions

BY TERESA TRITCH

The number of municipal and state level resolutions calling for a moratorium leading to a negotiated test ban is rising. And as it does, both the issue of a test ban and the grass-roots tactics used to achieve it seem to be taking hold of the popular imagination.

As we went to press in late June, nearly 150 test ban resolutions had been passed, including 33 in Massachusetts and 14 in California. Large cities from coast-to-coast, including Atlanta, Denver, Cleveland, San Francisco and Portland, Oregon, had jumped on the test ban wagon. In New Jersey alone, 39 resolutions were adopted.

In Ohio, a test ban was endorsed by gubernatorial proclamation. And in New York, the Democratic-controlled state assembly passed a test ban resolution (the Republican-controlled state senate withheld passage). Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) reports that the passage of 50 to 75 additional resolutions is still pending.

To supplement their well-covered "Code Blue" events (in which doctors wearing white coats and blue armbands imprinted with "Stop Nuclear Testing" lobby for local test ban initiatives), members of PSR have launched the "Prescription Drive," which has doctors nationwide writing "Rx: Stop Nuclear Testing" on their personal prescription pads for delivery to Congress and the White House.

On the national level, the Freeze Campaign, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, PSR, SANE and other groups plan to publicize their local chapters' successes with a press event in July, scheduled to coincide with the congressional defense appropriations bill vote. The local test ban resolutions will be used both as media attention-getters, and as a lobbying tool for the Schroeder amendment to the appropriations bill, which would cut funding for further tests. □



# IDEAS THAT WORK

Perhaps the most evocative commemorations of the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki last August were the lantern ceremonies held on rivers and lakes across the country. Inspired by a centuries-old Japanese rite held annually to honor and comfort the souls of the dead, the floating lantern ceremony has acquired particular poignance in the nuclear age, since many thousands of the A-bomb's first victims sought refuge in Hiroshima's rivers, only to die there.

One of the most successful lantern ceremonies in the country was held last year in La Crosse, Wisconsin, a sedate, predominantly Republican, Mississippi River town. Roughly 5000 people came together in that city for a day of commemoration and speeches. As evening fell, spontaneous singing broke out as over 1500 lanterns were passed in a long line from hand-to-hand, creating a human river of light down to a nearby dock. Boats ferried the lanterns to the middle of the Mississippi where the incandescent testimonials slowly floated downstream.



**Peggy Baumgaertner with Senator William Proxmire**

According to participants, the ceremony stirred deep emotions. Many people cried, and one man said that he hadn't been so moved since his own father's funeral. The event was widely covered by the local press, and even *Time* magazine took note of it.

With 1985's success behind them, organizers of the La Crosse event are helping to organize over 100 ceremonies around the country next month. And

they hope to give this year's effort an international impact. Dr. James Baumgaertner, a dermatologist and member of Physicians for Social Responsibility, has, with his wife Peggy, founded the International Peace Lantern Exchange Project (IPLEP). The couple has mailed information to 2000 groups and individuals around the world, and lanterns have been delivered to China, Canada, Germany, England and Hungary, among other countries.

For months now, children across the country, but mainly in Wisconsin, have been making lanterns in school, stenciling them with messages of peace (in English and Russian), and adorning them with pictures of themselves, locks of their hair and biographical data. Churches, nursing homes, and other institutions have also participated, with lantern-makers typically making one for themselves and one to be sent to another country.

Baumgaertner says that there are some 2200 lanterns in the Soviet Union now; students, and others, including International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) Co-President Bernard Lown, have hand-delivered them there. While attending the June IPPNW convention in Cologne, Germany, Baumgaertner distributed 700 lanterns to doctors from 25 countries. He then traveled to the Soviet Union to promote the project.

Depending on the kind of light source you use, lanterns can be made for as little as a nickel, Baumgaertner says. Besides being inexpensive, easy to do, and media-worthy, the lantern ceremony's haunting symbolism seems to carry with it a universal appeal. "It has motherhood, kids, and bipartisan support on its side," says Baumgaertner. "It's a way of grabbing people without turning them off with statistics. Even the Mormons in our town, a fairly conservative group, are interested in the project. I want the Mormons, the Jake Garns, the Jesse Helmses—well, maybe not the Jesse Helmses—involved in this."

If you want to be a part of the August 2 event, you must move quickly. Call IPLEP immediately to find out if anyone in your area is already organizing a ceremony. If not, there's still time to plan one yourself, although you'd better find out now if you'll need permits of any kind (contact the Coast Guard). IPLEP has a 90-minute video tape that provides background on the atomic bombings, showcases last year's ceremony, and gives instructions on how to assemble lanterns and organize a community event. Written instructions are also available. Write or call IPLEP at PO Box 2999, La Crosse, WI 54602 (608) 787-0801.

—Renata Rizzo

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# Resources

BY ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

## FILMS

**Is This Dreaming?**, written and produced by Michael Moran, directed by Robert Bergquist. The dream in question is "general and complete disarmament," something that seemed within reach in 1961 when President Kennedy announced a "peace race" with the Soviets and instigated the McCloy-Zorin plan, a set of principles to govern future negotiations between the superpowers. The subsequent history of arms control has been discouraging. As negotiator Paul Warnke says, "We ought to be up to SALT V by now." The film goes on to cover issues fundamental to disarmament and forms of grass-roots political action. Most of the film's information is laid out through interviews with 24 disarmament negotiators, scholars, and activists. An excellent study guide comes with the film. (53 minutes, all video formats, \$60 rental from The Cinema Guild, 1697 Broadway, New York, NY 10019 212-246-5522.)

**Visions of "Star Wars"**, co-produced by Graham Chedd and Andrew Liebman, narrated by Bill Kurtis. This excellent summary of the history of SDI and its political and technical progress to date was first presented as a PBS television special this spring. (120 minutes, all video formats, \$125 rental from Coronet Films and Video, 108 Wilmot Rd, Deerfield, IL 60015 1-800-621-2131.)

## BOOKS

**Good Business:** Rating America's Corporate Conscience, by Steven D. Lydenberg, Alice Tepper Marlin, Sean Strub, and the Council on Economic Priorities. This report examines American business involvement in apartheid, military contracts, political action committees, the development of nuclear weapons, and the advancement of women and minorities. It provides charts and profiles that aim to make the reader "more fully informed as an effective consumer, investor, worker, or manager." For example, once you've read it, you'll be able to "cook your supper on a kitchen range made by a company not involved in the manufacture of nuclear weapons." (Addison-Wesley, hardcover, \$21.95; paperback \$14.95.)

**Justice Downwind:** America's Atomic Testing Program in the 1950s, by Howard Ball. From 1951 to 1963, the U.S. government detonated atomic bombs in the Nevada desert. The fallout drifted

downwind to small towns in Nevada and Utah—home to some 100,000 people, mostly patriotic Mormons who were delighted to cooperate with the Atomic Energy Commission. Then their sheep started dying, and the numbers of deaths from leukemia and other cancers among their relatives and neighbors increased dramatically. Ball documents the cover-up of the dangers and the landmark lawsuit against the government which may be the longest in history, and should reach the Supreme Court. (Oxford University Press, \$19.95.)



1957 cartoon from "Justice Downwind": Dangers and cover-ups

**Hope in Hard Times**, by Paul Loeb. Loeb chronicles the efforts of antinuclear activists around the country. His profiles include the wife of Minneapolis' police chief, who was jailed for participating in a blockade of a defense contractor, and a Los Angeles woman who sold her \$600,000 house to work full-time in the peace movement. (Lexington Books, \$10.95 paperback.) Loeb is also the author of *Nuclear Culture*, now in paperback, a portrait of residents and workers at the Hanford nuclear facility. (\$9.95 from New Society, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143.)

## DIRECTORIES

**Grassroots Peace Directory:** A Guide to Local, Regional, and National Peace Groups and Resources. This computer-based directory is printed out state by state, and costs \$1.50 to \$8, depending on the state's size. You can also order mailing lists or search the data base nationally, by state or by region. (Contact Susan Graseck, executive director, Grassroots Peace Directory, Route 169, Box 203, Pomfret, CT 06258 203-928-2616.)

**Peace Archives:** A Guide to Library Collections of the Papers of American Peace Organizations and of Leaders in the Public Effort for Peace, compiled and edited by Marguerite Green. This invaluable 80-page directory identifies for the first time peace collections in some 30 libraries, as well as about 70 individual collections. (\$7 each, \$50 for 10 copies {postage and handling included} from World Without War Council, 1730 Martin Luther King Jr. Way, Berkeley, CA 94709 415-845-1992.)

## GUIDES

**Having International Affairs Your Way:** A Five Step Briefing Manual for Citizen Diplomats, by Michael Shuman and Jayne Williams. This manual maps out the steps to successful "track two" diplomacy, and outlines cases of citizen diplomats' efforts in the Middle East, Central America, South Africa, and the Soviet Union. (\$4 each, \$2 each for 2-10 copies, \$1.50 each for 11 or more from the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, 644 Emerson St., Ste 32, Palo Alto, CA 94301 415-323-0474.)

**The Defense Monitor:** Militarism in America. This issue of the Center for Defense Information's news bulletin examines the influence and power of the military as reflected in contemporary movies, magazines, television, toys and games, and a general fascination with paramilitary weapons and training. Among the sobering facts listed: More than 52,000 military contracts are signed, on average, every day, and five war toys were sold for every American child in 1985. The *Monitor's* concern is that the money spent on the military is already in the process of undermining the American values that it is supposed to protect. (\$1 per copy from the Center for Defense Information, 1500 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington, D.C. 20005 202-862-0700.)

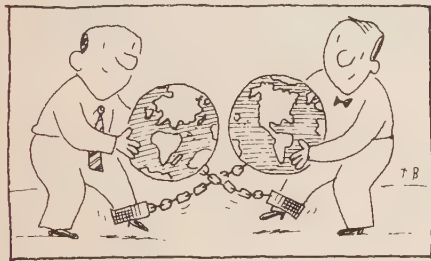
**The AntiBallistic Missile Treaty at a Glance** provides an overview of the treaty's importance, its key points, threats to it, and public support for it, along with a list of publications available from the National Campaign to Save the ABM Treaty. (Free from the National Campaign to Save the ABM Treaty, 1601 Connecticut Ave NW, Ste 704, Washington, D.C. 20009 202-939-5770.)

**The Challenge of Peace:** Two pages of excerpts from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' 1983 pastoral letter on the threat of nuclear war and the conditional moral acceptability of deterrence. (1-25 copies free, postage charge for larger quantities, from the Council for a Livable World Education Fund, 22 Park Plaza, Boston, MA 02116 617-542-2282.)



# NOTES FROM ABROAD

Recently I accepted the job as editor of *Disarmament Campaigns*, a bulletin on international peace actions published in the Netherlands. After several years of working in the American antinuclear movement, most recently with the Northern Sun Alliance in Minnesota, I jumped at the chance to live in Europe for two years. I arrived at a critical, but exciting, time for the European peace movements. Peace activists here are in a reflective stage right now and searching for a new direction in the wake of deployment of cruise and



Pershing 2 missiles. In the short time I've been abroad I've found important similarities, and differences, between the American and European movements.

To begin with, it is a mistake to speak of the "European peace movement" as a singular entity. Western Europe is composed of over 20 different countries, each with a distinct history and language—and many with a peace movement that must tailor itself to these differences. This plurality of cultures is both a blessing and a curse. Living so close to other countries fosters a sense of internationalism, of acknowledging different perspectives and needs, which the U.S. movement sometimes lacks.

Such differences may also cause stumbling blocks as Europeans attempt to create a political role independent of the United States and the Soviet Union. This is viewed as the key to disarmament here. Many Europeans see themselves as living in occupied countries. Great Britain has 18 U.S. military bases on its soil. West Germany has over 100,000 foreign soldiers, and the densest concentration of nuclear weapons in the world, all under American com-

mand. The overwhelming sense of the British and the West Germans is *loss of control*. More cooperation between all European countries, East and West, and a breakdown of the bloc system are seen as the solutions.

The desire for closer cooperation explains the emphasis the peace movements place on East-West relations. The twinning of cities, arranging exchange visits and building links with independent peace movements in Soviet bloc countries are vital concerns for West European activists. But a unified Europe, East and West, raises many questions which are heatedly debated. One such question is the reunification of East and West Germany. Memories of World War II are still very much alive here.

West Germany and France, meanwhile, have begun discussing joint military exercises. This can be seen as an attempt to take more responsibility for their own security, a step some Americans would applaud. Yet military cooperation between the two countries frightens other Europeans.

The Soviet Union naturally looms large in European debates. Most activists, though not all, include the Soviet Union as part of Europe when discussing improving East-West relationships. Should the issues of disarmament and human rights be linked closely in dealing with the Russians? Should independent West European peace movements deal with the official peace organizations of the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries or are such official movements mere propaganda machines? Some activists will answer yes, others no, to these questions. But European activists, in general, are much more likely to strongly criticize the Soviets than Americans. And criticize they do. This sometimes shocks Americans, who have to deal with strong and irrational anti-Soviet feelings at home.

Another major difference: Americans tend to gravitate to one cause or another, whether it is stopping the arms race, ending apartheid or opposing U.S. intervention in Central America. Europeans view the issues as much more interlinked, and in a broader political framework. Americans, however, have much more experience with civil disobedience as a tactic.

Despite their differences, European and American peace movements can—and should—learn a lot from each other. Yet communication remains poor. A willingness to listen and to learn, and a respect for differences and debate, are crucial considerations as activists on both sides of the Atlantic begin to figure out where we go from here.

—Shelley Anderson

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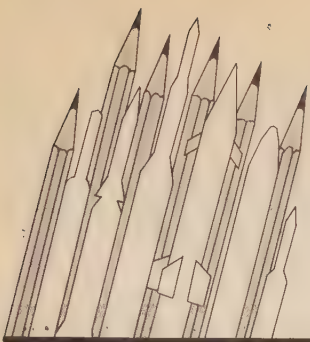
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# DEADLINE

**A Bulletin From the Center for War,  
Peace, and the News Media**

JULY/AUGUST 1986

VOL. I, NO. 3

## Charting the Double Standard In the Coverage of Chernobyl

**F**rom the moment the Chernobyl nuclear disaster exploded in the American media, coverage took a distinctly self-righteous tone. Most of the mainstream press made it clear that the Soviet government was behaving in its typically secretive and untrustworthy fashion, and with cynical disregard for the health and safety of not only the people of neighboring countries but its own citizens as well. This reflexive smugness in United States newsrooms could not have been sustained without the consistent application of a double standard that overlooked much of our own nuclear record, and without dissemination of much dis- and misinformation. Some of this was eventually corrected, but by the time solid facts began to emerge, a strong impression had been fixed in the minds of most Americans, once again reinforcing their long-cultivated distrust of the U.S.S.R. What follows is an examination of some of the charges and claims that turned a tragic accident and powerful warning into a shrill exercise in Cold War journalism.

*Two Days of Silence.* The accident occurred on April 26. The Soviets did not announce it until April 28. The next day, *The Washington Post* reported Swedish energy minister Birgitta Dahl's complaint that the delay was "unacceptable." Europeans were "terribly upset with the Soviet Union for their lack of forthcomingness [sic]," Ted Koppel remarked (ABC, April 30). Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan told CBS News that he felt "Gorbachev's system depends on secrecy" (CBS, May 1). A Swedish scientist told *New York Times* science correspondent Malcolm W. Browne that the Soviet failure to warn the West of approaching fallout was "absolutely inexcusable" (May 2). President Reagan announced that such behavior "manifests a disregard for the legitimate concerns of people everywhere," and *New York Times* Moscow correspondent Serge Schmemmann judged that it "spoke volumes about the Soviet system," where "information is a tool of the state" (May 4).

It took not two but ten days before the United States government notified the world that American servicemen and Marshall Islanders had been exposed to high

levels of radiation, including doses of up to 175 rads, from the first hydrogen-bomb test at Bikini on March 1, 1954. It took 45 days before the Atomic Energy Commission publicly announced a fire had taken place at the Rocky Flats plutonium-processing plant, 16 miles from Denver, Colo., on May 11, 1969, releasing into the air an unknown quantity of plutonium and other radioactive particles. Two serious earlier fires at Rocky Flats, on Sept. 11, 1957 and Oct. 15, 1965, were never reported to the public at all. The first of these released more than a quarter-ton of plutonium. A tenth of that was enough to administer a radiation dose one million times the permissible lung burden to every one of the 1,400,000 people then living in the Denver area.

It took four months before federal officials announced two releases of enriched uranium from the Getty Oil Company's top-secret Nuclear Fuel Services Plant at Erwin, Tenn., on Sept. 26 and Dec. 11, 1980. An earlier release from the plant, on Aug. 7, 1979, contaminated about 1,000 people. It took more than a year before the public was told of the partial meltdown at the Fermi fast breeder reactor near Detroit on Oct. 5, 1966. Officials secretly discussed the possible evacuation of 1,500,000 people from the Detroit area. On July 12, 1959, a meltdown began at Atomics International's Sodium Reactor in Santa Susana, in the heart of the San Fernando Valley and 35 miles north of downtown Los Angeles. Seven hundred thousand people lived within 10 miles of the plant. Thirteen out of 43 fuel rods had melted, and 10,000 curies of highly radioactive materials were released before the reactor was brought under control. The Atomic Energy Commission did not include the incident in its annual report to Congress. The public did not learn of it until the Center for Investigative Reporting unearthed the story in 1982—23 years later.

Like Chernobyl, all these events were accidents. We have been no less secretive about deliberate releases of radioactive materials. On Dec. 2, 1949, the federal government deliberately released a radioactive cloud containing 5,000 curies of iodine 131 from the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Washington state, as part of an experiment to see if a source of radiation could be determined from levels of radioactivity measured at various distances away. The plume, 200 miles long and 40 miles wide, drifted down the Columbia River Valley, over the towns of Richland, Pasco and Kennewick, before turn-

### INSIDE:

**Alerdinck IV: An East-West Exchange • Confusion Over SALT II •  
The Titan Explosions and National Security • Covering The Hanford Reactor**





ing northeast toward Canada. The public was not notified of this test until the Department of Energy released a 1950 report on it in February, 1986—37 years later.

Until the documentary film *Dark Circle* was released in 1982, the public didn't know that our government had been conducting open-air tests of nuclear reactors as long ago as 1955, in which it deliberately allowed the reactor cores to melt down in order to study the results. The makers of the documentary discovered several films of these tests made by the Atomic Energy Commission. One of the films, entitled "Kiwi Transient Nuclear Test," and made in Nevada in 1965, shows an experimental reactor one-tenth the size of a standard commercial reactor. As its control plates are blown away, a bright "Cerenkov glow" of radioactive luminescence appears, emitting ionizing radiation at a rate of

about 10,000 rems per hour. A lethal dose is 500 rems. A visible shock wave rapidly forms and bursts away from the meltdown—which completes in fractions of a second, showering more than a billion curies of uranium dioxide, plutonium and other fission products into the air. All written reports on these tests remain classified.

*Failure to Warn Neighbors.* The Hanford Nuclear Reservation is 170 miles from the Canadian border. We did not alert Canadian authorities in 1949 when we deliberately released 5,000 curies of iodine 131 from that plant. The Fermi reactor is 40 miles from the Canadian border. We did not alert Canadian authorities in 1966 about the partial meltdown at that facility.

*A Delay of 36 Hours Before Evacuation.* After the Marshall Islanders were first exposed to radioactive fallout from Bikini, it took more than 40 hours for a U.S.

## LETTERS

### 'Consider The Source'

To The Editor:

I am writing in reference to David M. Rubin's article, "Consider the Source: A Survey of National Security Reporters," in the March/April 1986 issue of *Deadline*. Without checking with any sources at *USA Today*, the author presumed that my "disconcerting habit" of attributing thoughts from unnamed sources to collective nouns like "the administration" is a space-saving device. In fact, *USA Today* does not use quotes from unnamed sources. The reason: unattributed quotes merely allow administration figures to hide behind a cover of anonymity, exploiting the media to float trial balloons or grind axes.

Johanna Neuman  
White House Correspondent  
*USA Today*  
Washington, D.C.

To The Editor:

[David Rubin's] assumption appears to be that the more direct the sourcing, the better the reader is served and that if sourcing is opaque he'll be badly served. Thus, [he] proceeds to do bean-counting on the number of times sources are specifically identified or not, and thus concludes which stories are "good" and which are

apparently at least deficient and perhaps misleading/self-serving/slanted. That is not really serious analysis. As [Rubin himself] points out in mentioning the coverage of *USA Today*, you can work exclusively with public statements (from government spokesmen, critics, etc.) and do a whale of a job.

In the more than 20 years I've been reporting in Washington for *The Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times* and *Boston Globe*, I've set a different test for myself: how can I best get solid, balanced, insightful information that will best serve my readers—a rather sophisticated lot. I would much rather get everything on the record, of course, but particularly in the case of arms control coverage, where confidentiality is pledged but not observed by either side, you have to protect your sources—if you want to get beneath the surface, that is. The stories should properly be judged on their content: are they essentially correct, do they help explain the thinking of the two sides, do they prepare the reader for what's coming next?

It's up to the reporter to prevent [himself from] being used and therefore misleading his reader. That's a lot tougher than nickel-in-the-slot reportage, I grant you, but the proper standard of serious analysis ought to be substantive rather than numerical.

Or do you disagree?

William Beecher  
Chief Diplomatic Correspondent  
*The Boston Globe*  
Boston, Mass.

*David M. Rubin replies:* Johanna Neuman seems to be addressing direct quotes only. She does not consider how her readers are to evaluate her factual assertions about administration thinking, or administration policy, when no names are attached. The need for accountability should be obvious in light of the recent SALT II minuet. Secretaries Weinberger and Shultz announce U.S. abandonment of the treaty; the president suggests on national television that he has not really abandoned its terms; Larry Speakes then corrects the president. What is the "administration" position? [For more on this subject, see page 10.]

William Beecher is correct to suggest that naming names is only one measure of quality. But surely his beat can be covered in a manner that would permit readers to learn the names of sources more than once in five times. Our "bean-counting" illustrates the wide variation in sourcing habits. Our larger point is that anonymous sourcing has become too common on this beat, and that all reporters, including Beecher, should work against its pernicious effects.



Navy destroyer to arrive and evacuate them, on March 3, 1954. After Three Mile Island's Unit Two reactor began releasing iodine 131 and other radioactive materials over the area, it took 48 hours before Pennsylvania's Governor Thornburgh ordered the evacuation of pregnant women and small children, on March 30, 1979. Soviet officials evacuated residents within a radius of more than 18 miles from Chernobyl. Licensing regulations in the United States require nuclear power plant operators to prepare plans for the evacuation of residents within a radius of only 10 miles from their plants—regardless of the scale of the accident which might occur.

*No Details Provided by Soviet Officials.* On May 2, *New York Times* reporter Harold M. Schmeck, Jr. complained that the "Soviet Union has issued virtually no solid data about radiation releases." When the Soviets announced that radiation levels nearest the Chernobyl plant had dropped by 33 to 50 percent, *Times* correspondent Schmemann noted that they still "did not specify actual radiation levels" (May 2). Schmemann wrote this five days after the accident took place. He later noted (May 6) that a Tass dispatch on the accident "avoided discussion of the amount of radioactivity released."

That same day, however, Soviet officials were discussing the amount of radioactivity at a news conference in Moscow. They said: "Maximum levels of radiation now are 10 to 15 milliroentgens per hour" (*NYT*, May 7). Was this inaccurate? Apparently not. According to officials of the International Atomic Energy Agency, at a press conference in Moscow held three days later: "Maximum radiation level within the 30 kilometer zone has been 10 to 15 millirem per hour" (*NYT*, May 10). The Agency added: "By the 5th of May it had decreased to 2 to 3 millirem per hour."

How many European nations offered their people specific radiation readings after Chernobyl? Out of 14 nations surveyed by the Associated Press, only five gave specific readings, while 10 offered assurances, according to the *Times*, that "there was no threat to public health" (May 2). One of the latter nations was France, whose officials offered no readings for the first ten days after the accident, and then announced that radioactivity "had actually reached 400 times the normal level in some areas" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 13). "Nuclear disinformation" charged the headline in *Le Monde*.

How much information of this kind was available at Three Mile Island? How soon was it available? Here is *The New York Times* report of June 3, 1979: "The crisis at the Three Mile Island power plant was in its third day before officials began to say publicly how serious it was, and it was not until last week that some details on the reasons for the nation's worst nuclear accident began to emerge in hearings by a presidential commission." That commission's report was not made public until October 25, 1979, seven months after the accident.

How accurate was the information made available at Three Mile Island? In 1984, the plant's owners pleaded

guilty or no contest in federal district court to seven criminal charges of falsification of data on leaks of radioactive material. How much radioactive material really was released? The mainstream press continues to use official figures which minimize this. Chernobyl afforded an opportunity to use them all over again. In March 1979, The Nuclear Regulatory Commission stated that only 14 curies of iodine 131 had been released. On May 11, 1986, *Times* science writer Walter Sullivan reported that just 15 curies of this isotope "became airborne." But according to Dr. Seo Takeshi, of Kyoto University, an August 1979 study by the NRC showed that 64,000 curies of iodine 131 were released.

Similarly, Margaret Reilly, of Pennsylvania's Department of Radiation Protection, announced, in March 1979, that the maximum dose anyone could have received at Three Mile Island was 70 millirems, and that this was "only for someone standing stark naked at the plant gates for seven days." On May 18, 1986, *Times* science reporter Browne reported that the maximum cumulative dose anyone could have received in the first seven days after the accident occurred was 83 millirems. But monitors 1,000 feet from the plant on the first day alone showed levels of 365 millirems per hour. One day's dosage at that rate was 8,760 millirems. A week's dosage, if the levels of radiation did not decrease, was 61,320 millirems—more than enough to cause serious injury. We do not know if radiation levels decreased in the first week. Two days after the accident, on March 30, 1979, NRC chairman Joseph Hendrie was still receiving reports of burst emissions as high as 1,200 millirems per hour.

In press coverage of Chernobyl, the refrain was more than occasionally heard that there were no victims of Three Mile Island. "No one was injured" at Three Mile Island, wrote *Times* columnist Flora Lewis (May 1). William Safire called Three Mile Island the "no-casualty accident" (*NYT*, May 5). Figures from the State of Pennsylvania, however, show that the infant mortality rate within ten miles of TMI rose 300 percent in the months following the accident.

Meanwhile, few studies are being done on the health effects of radiation exposure—especially on the long-term effects of low-level radiation. Little was done after Three Mile Island, just as little or nothing was done—or at least made public—on the health effects of those living downwind from the Nevada test site during the open-air tests in the 1950s, or on the soldiers exposed to those tests, or on the 42,000 sailors who helped clean up Bikini 40 years ago. Instead of follow-up studies on the physical health of area residents in the wake of Three Mile Island, fourteen separate psychological studies were undertaken, based on grants of \$375,000 from the National Institute of Mental Health.

*The Worst Accident.* Chernobyl is "by far the biggest accident in the history of the peaceful use of nuclear power," a senior Italian official told Walter Sullivan of *The New York Times* (May 3). "This is the hypothetical accident, the ancient accident of all the American studies," former NRC chairman Joseph Hendrie told





# DEADLINE

JULY/AUGUST 1986

Stuart Diamond of the *Times* (May 9). This is impossible to know. A much larger accident may have taken place when a nuclear waste site exploded at the city of Kyshtym, 800 miles east of Moscow, in 1957. Exiled Soviet scientist Zhores Medvedyev was able to reconstruct the event from open Soviet scientific literature. In his book, *Nuclear Disaster In The Urals*, Medvedyev shows that both the Soviet and American governments kept the incident secret, for fear of stirring resistance to their nuclear power programs. Nor can we be sure what else may have been kept secret.

**Meltdown!** This was an early headline on several tabloids as the Chernobyl story broke. More soberly, a subhead in *The Washington Post* announced: "Partial Core Meltdown Suspected" (April 29). James McKenzie of the Union of Concerned Scientists had told *Post* staff writer Boyce Rensberger that "the evidence of a meltdown at Chernobyl" was "the fact that radioactive atoms of iodine and cesium were detected in the atmosphere over Stockholm," and that such isotopes "could be released only if the fuel melted" (April 29). They could also be released if the fuel burned. That was what was happening. The Interagency Task Force acknowledged this within a few days. The NRC's Harold Denton said that while many officials had used the term "meltdown," the graphite surrounding the fuel was believed to have caught fire, and that this should be called "a burn-up" (*NYT*, May 1). By that time, other stories had come to the fore.

**A Second Reactor Meltdown.** This was one of the stories the Defense Intelligence Agency was offering to the press. Agency analysts told *The New York Times* that they believed a "meltdown" might be occurring "at an adjacent reactor as well" (May 1). By May 5, a story appeared in the *Times* with the headline: "2nd Soviet Reactor Worries U.S. Aides." American analysts had told *Times* reporter Stephen Engelberg that they had "some evidence" that the "cooling abilities" of the second reactor had been "diminished." An infrared photograph "from a commercial satellite [a Landsat] appeared to buttress this speculation," they said, "because it showed what appeared to be adjoining areas of heat" (*NYT*, May 5).

Anxiety about the second reactor easily could have been dispelled, just as anxiety could have been dispelled over a "meltdown" instead of a "burn-up." We knew there was only one source of heat at Chernobyl, and we were able to measure precisely how hot it was, because we had satellites far superior to Landsat which certainly had been brought over Chernobyl as quickly as possible. It was widely believed that we had only one KH-11 surveillance satellite in orbit. Yet even if that were true, and even if it was also true that our intelligence agencies were unaware of the accident until the Soviets announced it on May 28, that KH-11 would have been over Chernobyl within 72 hours. Nor is the KH-11 the only kind of surveillance satellite we have.

Certainly, after the Soviet announcement 72 hours would have been ample to collect the images Phillip M. Boffey described in *The New York Times* on May 1.

Boffey reported that members of Congress were "shown a satellite photograph of the Chernobyl plant" at a "classified briefing by Pentagon officials" on April 30, and added that one "Congressional source who attended the briefing" reported that Admiral William J. Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, described another photo which "showed a soccer game going on in the area of the plant." A commercial Landsat would not have been able to record this level of detail. Our best satellites were clearly already at work at that time.

Former CIA director Stansfield Turner was disgusted with this deception. "Surely our Government had much more information to share," he wrote in *The New York Times* (May 23). "Think of the anxiety we could have reduced," he continued, "by informing the Europeans that because the Chernobyl fires were out, the contamination they were receiving had likely peaked." He noted that "we stand to lose the least if we publish the results of satellite photographs," pointing out that "we need not produce the photos but only a description of what they tell us," which "need not give away such details as how precise the photos are." In a statement which wholly contradicts one of the classic justifications for secrecy, he added: "almost any data can be reduced to a form that removes any indication of how they were collected."

**Backward Soviet Technology.** For the first two weeks after the Chernobyl accident, the public was under the impression that the reactor at Chernobyl was far more dangerous than Western reactors because it used graphite—which burns intensely at high temperatures—to moderate its chain reaction, and because it lacked a containment dome. Eugene Gantzhorn of the Atomic Industrial Forum said that "nearly all commercial reactors" in other countries used "a safer technology than the Soviet plant," whose graphite-core reactor was of a kind "seldom built in the West," and which lacked a containment building to "deter the escape of radiation" (*NYT*, May 2).

He did not say whether noncommercial reactors in other countries used "a safer technology." Many do not. In the United States, there are eight military and research reactors managed by the Department of Energy which have no containment domes: one at Hanford, Wash.; one near Idaho Falls; two near Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and four along the Savannah River near Aiken, S.C. The N Reactor at Hanford has a graphite core, exactly like the reactor at Chernobyl. A ninth unit, the commercial Fort St. Vrain reactor in Platteville, Colo., also uses a graphite core.

On April 29, ABC News reported: "There was no containment building surrounding the reactor core" at Chernobyl. "It has no containment," Dr. Jacob Fabrikant firmly announced the following evening (ABC, April 30). *The Washington Post* was more cautious: "The Soviet facility is not believed to have a containment facility" (April 29). *The Philadelphia Inquirer* was quite unsure: "It is not known" if the reactor "had a containment structure" (April 29). *The New York Times* was certain: "The containment build-



ing, which the Soviet reactor lacked," was "standard in American plants" (May 12). An editorial in the *Times* hedged slightly, referring to the "apparent lack of a containment dome" around the reactor (April 30). The *Washington Times* hedged in exactly the same way, but got the most out of it: "The apparent lack of a steel-and-concrete structure around the reactor core exacerbated the disaster" (May 1).

It was not until May 19 that the public received new information, suddenly disclosed by federal officials who "found out through the CIA technical literature and other means" that the Chernobyl plant "was a newer plant" than they had earlier "assumed" (NYT, May 19). Chernobyl's reactor did indeed have a containment structure, one that was "truly massive and sturdy,"



according to the NRC's Robert Bernero. It had steel walls one- to two-feet thick, backed by concrete six- to eight-feet thick, and could withstand pressures of up to 57 pounds per square inch. By contrast, the Shoreham containment on Long Island, N.Y., can withstand pressures up to no more than 30 pounds per square inch (*The Guardian*, May 21). Chernobyl's containment was stronger than that of approximately one third of the reactors in the U.S.

**Safety Improvements.** In full-page ads reassuring Americans that Chernobyl can't happen here, the U.S. Committee for Energy Awareness claimed that "America's nuclear energy industry used the Three Mile Island experience to enhance the safety of all U.S. plants in many ways." In 1977, the NRC gave Congress a list of 177 serious, unresolved problems in American nuclear reactors. In 1979, the President's Commission on Three Mile Island found that only two of these 177 problems had been resolved, and that neither solution had been implemented at Three Mile Island. In 1984, the

General Accounting Office reported that the NRC had more unresolved safety issues in 1983 than at the time of the Three Mile Island accident.

Stuart Diamond, who covered the story of Chernobyl's containment structure for *The New York Times*, had an even more important story May 22. Congressman Edward J. Markey had released two internal Department of Energy memorandums instructing employees not to comment on the Chernobyl accident, but to refer all queries from the press to public affairs or to the newly organized Interagency Task Force. Similar memos were read to Diamond by the NRC and Department of Agriculture. Employees were warned especially "to avoid making comparisons" between American and Soviet reactors. One agency source said "the press curbs had been ordered by the White House."

Information, then, had been carefully limited. While the administration spoke with many voices abroad, it spoke with only one, well-coordinated voice at home. It was more difficult than usual for reporters to pry loose facts which might challenge or contradict anything that voice said. We were not to know there was no meltdown, no second reactor fire, no fundamental difference between Soviet and American reactors until the administration was ready to tell us. Why?

The best way to find out is to pay close attention to what the administration was directing us to think. In Tokyo, while of course denying that he was engaging in "Soviet-bashing," President Reagan spoke on the eve of the annual economic summit meeting of the seven major industrial democracies, denouncing the Soviet government's "secrecy and stubborn refusal to inform the international community of the common danger" (NYT, May 4). Simultaneously, several unidentified senior officials in the administration told veteran *New York Times* reporter R. W. Apple, Jr. what they believed the significance of the Chernobyl accident to be. Moscow's reluctance to provide full details of the accident, these officials argued, "has offended many countries and amounts to a public-relations disaster" which the Soviets "will have to compensate for elsewhere" (NYT, May 5).

Just where was quickly made plain. "The time is therefore ripe," one official said, "to see if we can't get them to come out of the closet on a range of issues." Another said that the world "now sees not only how callously the Kremlin has handled this episode, but also, by extension, how dangerous it is to trust their good will on other questions, like arms control." Apple noted that these officials had "taken considerable pain to deny that they are engaged in a propaganda campaign."

It was, of course, a classic and very efficient propaganda campaign. And, for the most part, the mainstream press cooperated all the way, treating the Chernobyl accident essentially as grist for yet more East-West confrontation instead of reporting it for what it was: a literally searing reminder of how hazardous nuclear technology can be at any moment anywhere in the world, regardless of politics.

—Tom Gervasi





## Meanwhile, at the Hanford Nuclear Reactor . . . .

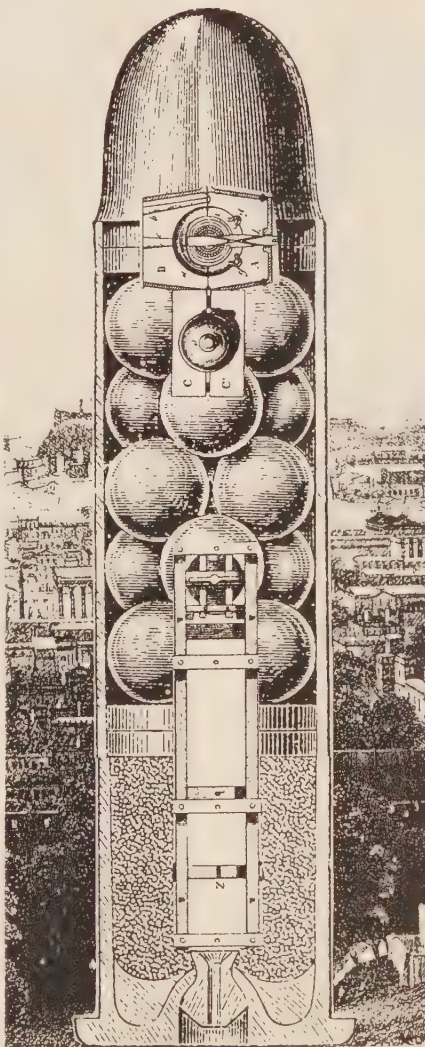
THE NUCLEAR REACTOR AT HANFORD, Washington, is a graphite-moderated plutonium producing facility much like the Soviet plant that burned at Chernobyl in late April. In the wake of that accident, the editorial board of *The Tri-City Herald*, the closest newspaper to Hanford, invited four Department of Energy officials in for a chat. They quickly assured their hosts that the graphite at Hanford would not ignite and that safety measures were sound.

The *Herald* itself was not so optimistic. On May 2, the paper—which circulates in the communities of Pasco, Kennewick and Richland—quoted two DOE reports saying worn parts needed to be replaced at Hanford. In stories published May 4 and 6, officials described measures intended to improve the Hanford plant, and Michael Lawrence, DOE chief of Hanford operations, said the plant was safe from a full core meltdown or graphite fire. But the May 4 story also reported that recent shutdowns “may have weakened public confidence in the reactor,” and *The Los Angeles Times* was quoted citing a government report saying that “serious deterioration” in valve discs in the reactor’s primary cooling system could block the flow of cooling water. An official said the valves would be replaced in fiscal 1988.

As DOE offered public assurances, it pressured its employees and scientists working under contract not to talk to the press about Chernobyl. The *Herald*’s Dave Hoover reported that DOE employees contacted the first two days after the accident said they had been told not to speculate about the Soviet disaster. As newspapers and broadcast stations across the U.S. expressed outrage that the Soviet government was refusing to release helpful information on the accident, even to its own people, the DOE was also stonewalling.

The *Tri-City Herald* has only 10 reporters, but one is assigned full-

time to cover the Hanford installation, which produces weapons-grade plutonium as well as electrical energy. Recent interest is especially keen because the site has been proposed as the nation’s major dump for nuclear waste, in caverns deep underground. Chernobyl focused



attention on Hanford, but so did the DOE’s recent release of previously classified information, including some that revealed “acute failures” in the operation of the plant, according to Jack Briggs, *Herald* managing editor.

Coverage by the enterprising Portland *Oregonian*, 150 miles from

Hanford, has also intensified interest in the installation. A year before Chernobyl, the *Oregonian* published a 24-page special report, the product of a six-month investigation, that said the decision to bury nuclear waste within four miles of the Columbia River resulted from a selection process which was a “game often played without clear rules, by people with money to make, driven by political trade-offs that will be forgotten before any mistakes become evident.” Two weeks after the Chernobyl accident, the *Oregonian* ran two stories, by science editor Linda Monroe and reporter Spencer Heinz, revealing that in the mid-1940s “Hanford reactors and plutonium factories spewed [radioactive iodine 131] out at levels that today would qualify as a major nuclear accident, thousands of times greater than Three Mile Island.”

These stories, in which the reporters worked with scientists to analyze 19,000 pages of documents released last February and covering 43 years of Hanford operations, ran side by side on page one with a story on declining radiation from Chernobyl. The local story on past radiation that might yet destroy lives in the Northwest seemed more ominous and reminded the *Oregonian*’s readers—increasingly sophisticated and concerned about nuclear energy, Monroe says—of the carelessness that has attended the supposedly sober business of creating nuclear plants. The following day, May 12, the second story revealed that in 1949 officials at Hanford had deliberately discharged about 5,000 curies of radioactive material as part of a scheme to simulate discharges from Soviet plutonium plants. The apparent intention was to improve monitoring of Soviet emissions by creating radioactivity levels near Hanford approximating those produced by the Russians.

—Michael Kirkhorn



## 'There Aren't Poor Questions, Only Poor Answers'

**F**our decades ago, a week after Hiroshima was destroyed, Wilbur Forest, a reporter for *The New York Herald Tribune*, assessed the impact of the atomic bomb on the profession he served. "This devastating weapon," he wrote, is "a potent argument for a freer flow of news between peoples in order that there shall be less cause for misunderstanding and world conflict in the future." On May 2 of this year, less than a week after the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant became known to the world, some 500 journalists assembled at New York University for a day-long conference to test Forest's proposition. Organized jointly by the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media and the Alerdinck Foundation, "Between the Summits" brought together a group of journalists from the Soviet Union, West Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, France, Poland and the United States. Based on an exchange of Soviet and American videotapes and news articles, they discussed and debated in three panels television coverage of the Geneva summit, coverage of everyday life in each superpower by the press of the other, and coverage of nuclear and arms-control issues. Alexander Bovin, panelist and an influential commentator for *Izvestia* and Soviet television, told his readers upon his return to Moscow that comparing Soviet and American coverage was a novel exercise, "a rather complex psychological task" for him. "The discussion was open," he wrote, "the hall was packed with university students and local journalists. Intelligent questions were posed. Our American colleagues chairing the panels allocated time fairly. . . . In general, there aren't any poor questions—only poor answers." What follows is a sampling of what some of the participants had to say. A full transcript of the conference, containing the panel debates, the texts of all articles and broadcasts discussed, and a press conference largely devoted to the Chernobyl accident, is available (\$10, prepaid) from the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media—1021 Main Building—New York University—New York, N.Y. 10003.

—R.K.M.

### GERD RUGE

**Editor-in-Chief of West German Television,  
on Leave to Serve as Executive Director of  
the Alerdinck Foundation**

*In Geneva there were 3,000 journalists and we had a news blackout. My own comments on TV—and I had to stand up there and say something—I could have written a week before. I said basically what I had been thinking of all the time. I was lucky in being able to show some of my copy sometimes to American, sometimes to Soviet friends. And they would say, 'Well I wouldn't say that'; 'you'd better drop that.' They didn't give me any information, but they gave me a little bit of guidance, perhaps. That was better than nothing, but it wasn't much. I think correspondents in such situations turn into actors. I was really acting. I was acting as though I had some real information, as though I was close to the decision-making, close to the talks, really. I was standing there creating this impression without actually lying, but creating an impression which maybe was not entirely truthful. I think this is a very dangerous thing.*

*We really have to consider very carefully whether this kind of coverage, this show, is what we need in the long run. We do it because of the competition, to be more colorful, more interesting, more entertaining. There is perhaps something to be said for the more old-fashioned way Soviet television covers it—giving long statements, giving long and complete texts—but then I think we could not really get our viewers to sit down at the screens long enough to follow all of that. So we are in a difficult position and we should really think about it, whether we have built a monster with the kind of TV coverage we give, the kind of coverage provided by 3,000 journalists in Geneva and maybe 6,000 when Mr. Gorbachev comes to America.*

### EDWIN DIAMOND

**Director, N.Y.U. News Study Group**

*Outwardly, nothing could be more dissimilar than American and Soviet television. One is private and "independent of government control," competitive, highly produced, visually exciting; the other is state-run, monopolistic, stolid, even plodding. However, our study of how American and Soviet TV news covered last November's Geneva summit showed that both reflected their government's position. The official lines were that not much should be expected from Geneva because of the other side's maneuverings for unfair advantage. Soviet TV provided a direct connection for this line. American correspondents filtered their work. Sam Donaldson or Chris Wallace would stand up in front of the White House backdrop and give us the official line, but in their own words. The effect, however, was the same. Television news is the official transmission channel. But here is the whammy. The official lines, East and West, were indeed the truth. Nothing did come from the Geneva talks. So in this respect, both the American and Soviet television systems, diverse as they are, got the story right.*

### ANDRÉ S. SPOOR

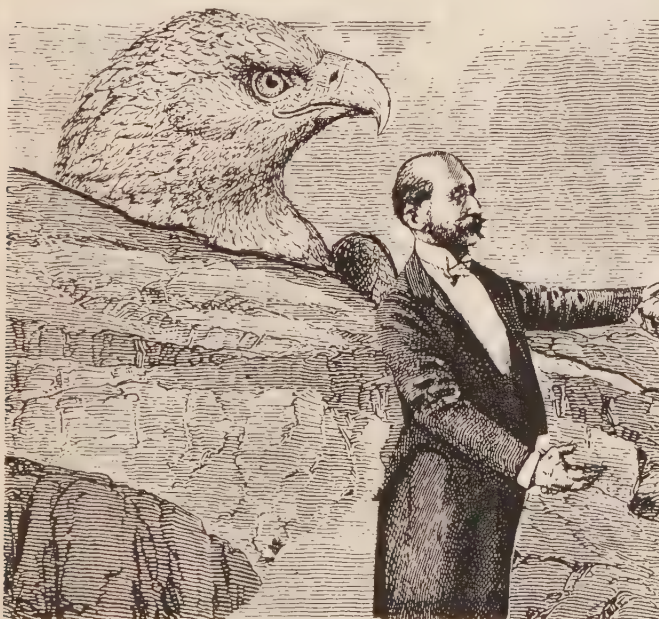
**Editor-in-Chief of Elseviers, a Leading Dutch Newsweekly**

*Fairness seems to be that in both countries the people are all alright, but the governments are evil. The children of America are OK and want peace—students, teachers and other decent human beings in America want to stop the arms race. The doctors want cooperation. The cities and towns all over this country are basically peace-loving and primarily interested in solving their local problems. But unfortunately, there is a politically polluted city, Washington, and the U.S. government sits*





there and it builds laboratories like Livermore and promotes the arms race. Now I definitely do not think that it would be a bad idea, let's say, to describe the problems of the average citizens in both countries or that it would be a bad idea to stress similarities and parallels in the life of the people. But suggesting that the problems between the two superpowers lie mainly in the lousy governments they have and the bad political structures of the other side means that the other side is not being taken seriously. It means that the difficult part of the reporting and the analysis is evaded. The difficult part is to explain the policies and the structures of the other side and the fact that they have been created by these peace-loving, wonderful citizens in the course of history; that they are the result of historical, ideological and economic realities and that they don't go away just because we want to ignore them or dislike them. . . . It worries us European journalists, who know from our historical experience [where] demonizing of the opponent can lead, that we find so often in Soviet and American journalism stereotypes based on chauvinism.



**VLADIMIR LOMEIKO**

**Head of the Press Department, Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

Immediately after the Chernobyl accident a little information did exist, which was communicated by the government and in Soviet newspapers and on television. It was almost totally disregarded in America, and it was also given the label of unreliable right away. That's the problem. There is information which was given right away that there were two deaths, but this was not to the liking of many people. Therefore the figure of 2,000 was mentioned. And if you call the second figure information, I call it disinformation, because it's trumped up out of thin air. Then it was reported that 197 people were in the hospital. Forty-nine of them were released from the hospital after being given a medical examination and eighteen, it was reported later, were in serious condi-

tion. These are facts, but apparently no one knows these facts because in most cases the talk of 2,000 continued. It's a lie. But you call it information. Now, some American journalists came back from Kiev, where tourists gave some favorable information about the situation in that city. In the first days this information was practically missing; instead, what was given was information to the effect that Chernobyl was a "catastrophe." It was a serious accident, but not a catastrophe. As I see it, a catastrophe is continuing the nuclear testing that's going on in Nevada, even though it's underground. That will lead us all to a catastrophe. And the interesting thing is this: when I spoke on television yesterday and said that if American journalists were to talk accurately about the question of the nuclear testing in Nevada, in my view, that would reflect a greater degree of responsibility. But that is precisely what was cut out of the television programs. Apparently that's freedom of information of your own kind.

## **LEONID KRAYCHENKO**

**First Deputy Chairman of the Soviet State Committee For Television and Radio**

Why is our domestic information so laconic in the Soviet Union? Because there is a certain tradition of covering tragedies. In the case of Chernobyl, we have to decide what is better: to tell everything about the tragedy as soon as possible, even give details, or to wait a little and make sure the information is reliable and truthful. Because if it is fast it is not going to be reliable. There will be panic. The Kievians—a few million people—would rush to the Urals to save themselves from the radiation. . . . Only one thing is known for sure now, that those villages and towns which are in the area of radiation were speedily evacuated. All means of transport were made available for this purpose. This was a responsible approach on the part of the authorities to take care of the people and the victims. After that you take care of the information, and reliable information, that's the next thing to worry about.

## **LAWRENCE K. GROSSMAN**

**President of NBC News**

There is a certain validity to the charge that we moved too quickly with inadequate information on Chernobyl. We did wait until we had information confirmed about the disaster at NBC News. We did not go just with the UPI story on the 2,000 deaths. We reported that story, but we gave the source and said there were many questions and a great inadequacy of information. I do disagree, however, that there was any delight taken in the accident in terms of our relationship with the Soviet Union. Any antagonism was caused later on by a real and, I think, legitimate sense that information was being withheld. Yesterday I monitored the full output of Soviet news broadcasts. There were two major news broadcasts on television and there was not a single mention, not a single mention, of this accident, describing the scope or the amount or the concern. We do not know the



level of radiation. We do not know what measures are being taken in terms of the milk and the fruit and the food and the meat. We do not know how extensive this is. There are many questions to which we do not know the answers, which everybody feels angry about. And it is certainly understandable that one would want to wait until the full weight of information is out, but I don't know how that is reconciled with the arrangements that can be made to bring in independent observers so that reports can be gotten out. Obviously there are concerns about safety, but I think I detect a certain contradiction in the kind of minimal statements about the damage and the effect and other statements about the seriousness of the tragedy and the need for tact and the need for safety and preventing people from going in.

#### STEPHEN F. COHEN

**Professor of Politics at Princeton University and Specialist in Soviet Affairs**

There are a lot of questions about Chernobyl that the American press doesn't ask that seem to me to bear directly on the questions you are asking Mr. Lomeiko [about the explosion]. First of all, this is an unprecedented event so far as I know. And, therefore, you are assuming that the Soviet government knows the answers to these questions. Would the American government know exactly what information to give out instantaneously about what was going to happen and what was happening? I don't know the answer to that. Secondly, there is a question about area information. You say no information was given to Soviet citizens. There is a local press in the Soviet Union and there are local broadcasts. It is true that there was virtually no adequate information on the national broadcasts. But, I don't know what the Ukrainian press said to the local citizens. I don't know what Ukrainian radio said. I have no idea. I don't think we can know until we know. Then, who knew what, when?—a favorite American question. The central authorities obviously got information from the plant in the Ukraine. What information did they get? As I say, it was unprecedented. Perhaps the Ukrainian authorities said they could put the fire out. Maybe they thought they could. It turned out they couldn't. The central authorities have to get information to give information out. If it's unprecedented, how will they evaluate the information? The fact is that it is a human problem of unprecedented dimensions, and but for the sake of God, there we go. And it seems to me that one of the most important things to say is that our heart goes out to the people who are affected and that we ourselves don't know how we should react if something like that ever happened to us.

#### FRED KAPLAN

**Defense Correspondent of The Boston Globe**

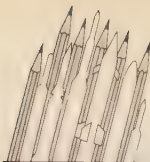
Amidst all the numerous articles about what Shultz said to Weinberger and what Weinberger said to Shultz and what the two Richards [Perle and Burt] said to each other at various meetings, the press has ignored the basic fact that absolutely nothing is happening; that the

Reagan Administration is completely immobile on the subject of arms control; that certain forces within the Pentagon are so adamantly opposed to it and that they currently hold the balance of power within the bureaucratic politics of the administration so no decision can be made by the Reagan Administration until this deadlock is broken. And nobody in the White House is inclined to break it. Now that to me is the basic fact. And all the coverage of great detail not merely confuses but obscures that basic fact. For example, the coverage of "Star Wars." One can read a 5,000-word article detailing the technology of X-ray lasers or charged-particle beams in astonishing detail. However, I suspect many of these articles are rather boring to most people. Even when one can penetrate them, it is not at all clear that one would pass a quiz on it 10 minutes later, much less



have a basic understanding of the subject. What is not covered as much is the basic fact that almost everybody working on the "Star Wars" program quite freely confesses, or at least privately confesses, that it cannot possibly work—at least work in the definition that President Reagan has himself set forth—namely, to construct a leak-proof shield that will make nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete. Caspar Weinberger says it will work; Ronald Reagan says it will work; almost nobody else says that. To the degree that "Star Wars" is popular, I suspect it is because of this rather grand and noble image that has been set forth on its behalf. If the more common understanding of "Star Wars" was presented, namely, that this is essentially, and cannot be anything more than, a limited defense system which will perhaps provide protection for some missile sites, command centers, and maybe a small percentage of the population, at best—if that were stated more clearly as not the position of Paul Warnke and Kosta Tsipis, but as the position of 95 percent of the scientists at Livermore and Los Alamos, then perhaps there might be a different opinion about "Star Wars."





## Just What Did Reagan Mean When He Talked About SALT?

**E**ven the most attentive news reader must have been puzzled about whether the White House had abandoned SALT II or saved it on May 27. The next morning's headlines ran the full range of possibilities, from "Reagan: SALT is near end" in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* to "Compliance with SALT Continued" in *The Washington Post*. Reporters, of course, are not responsible for the mischief of headline writers. But this time, it was not the headline writers who were confused.

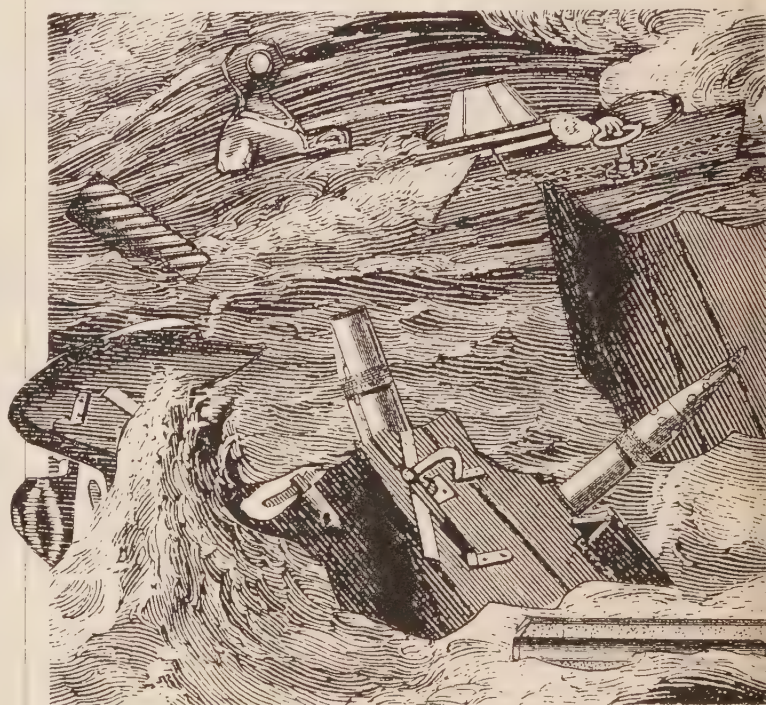
The SALT II story has been a staple of Washington reporting since before the president campaigned for office promising journalists they would soon be covering the treaty's demise. Controversy over the unratified agreement has run like a thread through coverage of the Reagan presidency. In the last two years, attention has focused on the treaty's numerical ceiling on ICBMs with multiple warheads. The deployment of new Trident ballistic missile submarines has threatened to breach these limits—unless older Poseidon submarines are dismantled. By the end of April, with the newest Trident to begin sea trials shortly and the familiar administration debate over the treaty coming to a head once again, the Washington press corps was primed for yet another chapter in the SALT story.

When Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, took the podium to announce the administration decision, certain details had been known for over a month, since they had leaked soon after the president made a tentative decision to dismantle two Poseidon submarines—and to base all future weapons planning on military needs rather than treaty conditions. Reporters at the briefing received an unusual amount of paper from the White House, including a lengthy written statement by the president, a several-thousand-word fact sheet on the administration's previous SALT decisions and alleged Soviet treaty violations, and the text of Speakes' statement itself.

The president did, as expected, announce that the Poseidons would be dismantled, but he did so in the ninth of his statement's 21 paragraphs, where he also said the decision had been made on purely budgetary grounds. The rest of the written material was devoted to an announcement that the United States would no longer observe SALT II provisions for their own sake and would base future military decisions solely "on the nature and magnitude of the threat posed by Soviet strategic forces." Speakes took questions about the announcement, but refused to be drawn into characterizing the administration's decision. "You'll have to interpret it," Michael R. Gordon, who wrote the next day's *New York Times* story, remembers the press secretary telling one reporter. "I don't want to interpret it. I want to know what the policy is," came the reply. Gordon recalls that it "was all kind of vague. It went round and round like that for an hour. Half the people

thought the treaty was dead, and the other half thought we were staying with it."

The stories the next day reflected this confusion. Some newspapers portrayed the White House announcement as an important policy shift, accepted the budgetary rationale for the Poseidon decision, and emphasized the administration's intention to break the SALT ceilings later this year on MIRVed missiles and bombers carrying cruise missiles. Other news organizations emphasized the decision to scrap the Poseidons and played it as a choice to comply with SALT II. In this case, the decision to surpass the ceilings on MIRVed missiles and bombers carrying cruise missiles, Speakes' denunciation of Soviet treaty violations, and the budgetary rationale for the Poseidon decision were explained as rhetorical bones thrown to treaty opponents



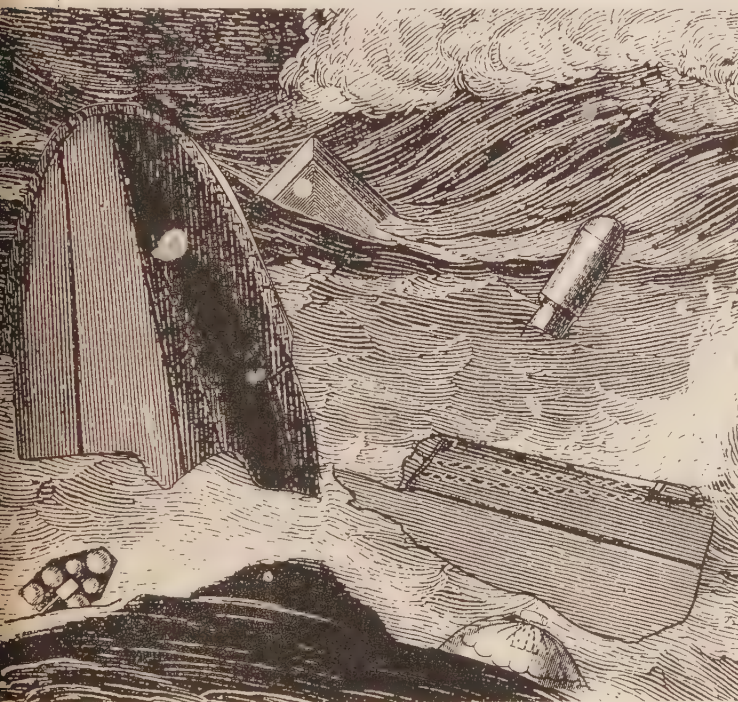
in the Pentagon and the Congress.

Like most reporters who played the White House statement as a continuation of the Poseidon story, Lou Cannon and Walter Pincus viewed the administration decision as a victory for SALT proponents. Leading their report in *The Washington Post* with the news that the president had "kept the United States in compliance" with the treaty, they characterized his statement on the future of SALT as no more than a "warning." Providing context for the action in their second paragraph, they wrote that "Reagan's decision followed State Department recommendations. . . . But the president explained his action with an argument advanced by Pentagon officials." In other words, the State Department had won on substance; the Pentagon on style. Discussion of Soviet treaty violations at the briefing was seen as a rhetorical show to placate hardliners



instead of a substantive concession to their position. The briefing, Cannon and Pincus wrote, "seemed directed more at soothing Republicans who object to the decision than Democrats who complained about Reagan's rhetoric."

All the networks, too, featured the Poseidon decision. Chris Wallace played it as a victory for SALT proponents in his report on the "NBC Nightly News." Describing the statement as "a mixture of tough talk and moderate action," Wallace gave this round to the "moderates in the State Department" who "say a lot can happen before November, and that what counts is that two subs are being dismantled." Peter Jennings led his ABC broadcast with the Poseidon announcement. "President Reagan has decided this country will continue to abide by a major arms-control treaty with the



Soviet Union, at least for now," began his introduction to Sheilah Kast's report. "The president has agreed that two American nuclear submarines should be dismantled. The U.S. will thus stay within the limit of the SALT II agreement." On CBS, Bill Plante linked the administration's decision to retire the Poseidons with Moscow's announcement that it would permit 117 Soviet citizens to join their families in the U.S. His report implied the decision gave cause for optimism concerning the future of the arms-control process.

The emphasis of Michael Gordon's report in *The New York Times* on May 28 shifted from edition to edition. "The final edition was stronger on breaking out of SALT," he says, referring to the decision to end compliance with the treaty. Even so, Gordon's final story was cautious and moved back and forth between the Poseidon decision and the SALT policy declaration. His

lead described the former; his second paragraph the latter. The SALT decision, he wrote, "appears to mark a change in tone and emphasis" from previous administration declarations. Overall, however, what he described as the "subtlety or ambiguity in the president's statement" was reflected in tensions within the story itself.

Other reporters emphasized the administration's decision to abandon SALT. Walter V. Robinson in *The Boston Globe*, James McCartney and Owen Ullmann in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, and Johanna Neuman in *USA Today* all wrote stories that put them in this company. But among reporters for the most influential national news media, only Robert W. Merry of *The Wall Street Journal* and Eleanor Clift of *The Los Angeles Times* wrote the story on May 27 that their peers would be writing in the days to come.

"I remember sitting in the briefing room, thinking, this is different," Clift says. "They were really stressing the hard line whenever they could. Then I talked to an administration source on background who called it a 'sea change.'" She made her choice about how to shape the story "more on gut instinct than on anything else," but then had to justify the decision to *Los Angeles Times* editors, who "were reading a lot of copy playing it the other way." After talking with Norman C. Miller, the paper's national news editor, Clift agreed to insert a paragraph to explain that although "Reagan often has couched moderate actions in conservative rhetoric," on this occasion the president's tough talk was to be taken seriously.

The artful shading of the president's statement and the noncommittal White House briefing had left it to reporters to decide for themselves whether the chalice of arms control was half empty or half full. They were also misled by their own expectations that the announcement would focus on the Poseidon decision; as a result, most of the national news media took several days to revise their account of the president's announcement.

They were helped along by the administration itself. The day after the announcement, Walter Pincus says, Kenneth Adelman, the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, was on the phone about the story. "Adelman was calling people. It was not the headline they [the administration] wanted. That was not the lesson they wanted drawn."

Over the next three days, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger and Secretary of State George Shultz both went out of their way to suggest that the SALT announcement had been more significant than originally portrayed. But news organizations took different cues and followed different timetables in correcting their first-day stories.

Weinberger sent out the first public signal when, the day after the original announcement, he told reporters before delivering a commencement address at West Point that "we are no longer bound by that flawed agreement. It's very simple." *Post* reporter Don Oberdorfer,





however, was almost alone in seizing on the secretary's remark. He used it to lead a page-one story on the announcement that corrected the impression left by the *Post's* story the previous day. He reported that administration sources were "hardening the impression" left the day before, and that SALT policy and not the Poseidon decision was emerging as the important part of the administration's announcement. Weinberger's observations about SALT II did not make any of the evening newscasts, and *The New York Times* all but ignored his remarks.

Outspoken European reaction to the break with SALT II voiced at a meeting of NATO foreign ministers the next day alerted stragglers that the decision had in fact been made. Bernard Gwertzman's *New York Times* story about the meeting in Halifax, Nova Scotia, quoted European criticism of the May 27 announcement and Secretary of State Shultz's defense of its terms. The story put readers on notice that the paper was reversing its field. "Initial news reports stressed the dismantling of the submarines and continued observance of the limits," Gwertzman wrote in the fourth paragraph of his page-one story. "But Mr. Shultz made it plain today that, barring an unexpected Soviet shift, the 1979 treaty will be dead in a few months so far as the United States is concerned." Inside the paper, Michael Gordon reconsidered his earlier story in a "News Analysis" that discussed internal administration politics and reaction to the announcement in Congress, among the allies, and in Soviet councils. In contrast to his earlier characterization of the announcement as subtle or ambiguous, he now described it as marking "a sharp break" with previous administration policy on the treaty.

The networks also caught up with the story—and in doing so gave it the kind of spin that the administration had failed to achieve in the first day's stories. Several days after the original CBS report of the announcement, Dan Rather told viewers that the decision about SALT II had been made in order to "replace it with a better agreement." Tom Brokaw introduced a report by Marvin Kalb two days after the announcement with the frank admission that "when President Reagan announced two days ago that the United States would stay within the limits set by the unratified SALT II treaty with the Soviet Union, it was believed that the United States would, for the time being, at least comply with the arms

agreement, but . . . that is not the case." Kalb then rehearsed the history of the treaty and asked Adelman what would now replace it. The clips of missiles rising out of the sea suggested one answer. Adelman had another: "We will not exceed the Soviet Union in the level of launchers or in the level of warheads," the ACDA director said, repeating a commitment in the president's original announcement that had largely been overlooked by the press until now. "This is a new thing?" asked Kalb. "It is a new thing," answered Adelman, who had once proposed something similar in *Foreign Affairs*.

By the end of the fourth day most of the news organizations had clarified or corrected their original reports by emphasizing the importance of the president's decision "not to be bound" by the treaty. Despite the efforts of administration officials such as Adelman to shape the story with their own interpretations of the Reagan statement, the attention of the press was drawn inexorably to the reaction story. Over the next ten days, most SALT stories focused on how Congress, the allies, the Kremlin and the arms-control community were reacting to what everyone took to be an administration decision to stop complying with the treaty—although some felt the administration had still left itself some running room. After a period of confusion, the news media seemed to have decided that the president had meant what he said after all, and they left it at that.

It was the president himself who seemed to challenge this assumption. At his June 11 press conference, he repeatedly failed to confirm the interpretation the press was now comfortably attaching to his original announcement. James Klurfeld of *Newsday* elicited the answer that most troubled his colleagues when he asked the president, "What's to replace SALT at this point? And why make this decision now?" Said the president: "I didn't make it now." He also told Lesley Stahl of CBS that "We've got several months in which to see" how the Russians behave before the U.S. will breach the SALT limits on MIRVed ICBMs and bombers carrying cruise missiles.

R.W. Apple, Jr. weighed in the next morning with a story that reported the president said "that he had not firmly decided to abandon observance of the terms of the unratified agreement later this year." The story's page-one play in *The New York Times*, prestigious



byline, and declarative headline ("Reagan Reports No Firm Decision on '79 Arms Pact") gave considerable prominence to one of several possible interpretations of the president's remarks, and helped shake the press corps' confidence in the story of SALT's demise that it had been playing for the last ten days.

Paul Taylor's story in *The Washington Post* was considerably less sensational and seemed, in fact, to represent the tenor of the president's remarks. "President Reagan last night defended his administration's intention to abandon the limits of the unratified SALT II agreement later this year," it began, "but said final action to exceed the arms limits will depend on Soviet behavior." Taylor also framed Reagan's responses with the observation that the press conference had been "characterized by rambling answers and the misunderstanding of two questions." The president was asked about SALT three times during the session, Taylor reported, "and shaded each of his answers slightly differently." Taylor was delicately suggesting what others, in and out of government, were saying in stronger terms behind the scenes: The White House had once again botched the presentation of its own case.

Realizing even before they saw the headlines that they had a problem, the president and other administration officials met after the press conference and reached a decision to "restate the position in its entirety," according to a report by James McCartney in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. This Larry Speakes did at his 9:30 briefing on June 13 when he spent much of his time replying to questions about the administration's SALT positions by repeatedly declaring: "The SALT treaty no longer exists."

By now, however, the news media had come alive to nuances and contradictions in the president's original announcement, to which they had paid little attention in the first few weeks of reporting on the decision. For example, the administration seemed to be saying that its next decision about MIRVed missile deployments would depend on whether the Soviets corrected alleged violations of SALT II. But, as ABC's Sam Donaldson asked Speakes, "How can they violate something that we've just declared dead?" It was a question that reporters and editors of *The Washington Post* also had for Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard N. Perle when he lunched with them later that day. "Under questioning," Walter Pincus reported in the *Post*, "he acknowledged that the word violations could no longer be applied since Reagan decided to cease respecting SALT II."

The press corps spent the day after the press conference checking in with administration sources on and off the record, and even checking back with the president to confirm that he agreed with what Speakes had said in his name. Bernard Weinraub went with the president's remark that, "Yes, I think you can trust what Larry Speakes said," in *The New York Times*. But Ellen Hume, in *The Wall Street Journal*, quoted the president's comment that "we'll make the decision regarding the cruise missile when the time comes" as evidence

that he was not repudiating his press conference statements and was seeking to use U.S. treaty compliance as a bargaining chip with the Soviets. In the midst of such conflicting evidence, the *Times* threw up its hands and paired Weinraub's report with a "News Analysis" by Leslie H. Gelb. Weinraub's story reported the uncompromising White House assertions; Gelb's the "nuances" that others detected.

Spurred on by the administration's inadequate presentation of its own case, reporters were now looking more closely at the original announcement than they had at any time before. Never more aggressive than when they glimpse textual contradictions or dissent in the ranks, members of the press corps now pursued the "confusion story" with more energy than they had expended on the story of the original announcement itself. The announcement had been there for the reporting all along, of course, but administration officials sought to preserve their stake in the carefully crafted compromise with an uncharacteristic show of official harmony. Until the president himself broke ranks, there were few, indeed, who had taken their own case to the press or the Congress. With the president now on the record, however, the press had its story. The administration had proved itself too clever by half: an announcement congenial to all had proved explicable by none.

—Tony Kaye and Robert Karl Manoff

## Unlikely Lead: No Cuts In The Defense Budget Because. . .

In our last issue we invited readers to try their hand at writing fanciful leads for news articles they thought unlikely to appear in coverage of arms control or Soviet-American relations. Many submissions arrived at the *Deadline* office—1021 Main Building, New York University, New York, N.Y. 10003. And we hope more will follow for possible publication in future issues. This time out, Ira Shorr, a field organizer for SANE, best captured the spirit of our informal contest and wins one of the books honored with a 1986 Olive Branch Award. His entry follows:

*At a Senate hearing today, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger again refused to accept any cuts in his \$300 billion Pentagon budget. When asked by a congressman if the money could be better spent helping poor Americans, Secretary Weinberger responded: "Spending money on bombs makes much more sense for our national security than wasting it on human beings who won't even explode when dropped from an airplane." When asked by another congressman if he was crazy, Weinberger exploded, injuring 24 white male millionaires.*



JULY/AUGUST 1986

## Not Enough Questions About The Titan's 'Secret Payload'

In August 1985, the U.S. Air Force launched a Titan 34D rocket from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. Its mission was to place in orbit a second KH-11 photo reconnaissance satellite, the "Cadillac" of spy satellites, to quote William Broad of *The New York Times*. Orbiting 150 miles up, the KH-11 provides high-quality photos of wide patches of the earth, along with close-ups of astonishing clarity and detail. In its reconnaissance efforts, the U.S. also deploys spy planes (which no longer overfly the Soviet Union) and satellites that eavesdrop on communications and radar traffic worldwide. "But the way we do business in this country," says John Pike, associate director of space policy for the Federation of American Scientists, "is predicated on having *that* [KH-11] product." The satellite regularly monitors Soviet compliance with arms control treaties.

Shortly after launch, the Titan malfunctioned and had to be destroyed, along with the KH-11. Despite the loss of the satellite, valued at up to \$800 million, this was, in news terms, a non-event. The wires moved a few paragraphs, but nothing appeared on the networks, in *The New York Times*, or in *The Washington Post*. *The Los Angeles Times* gave it two inches, and the paper referred only to a "secret payload." The importance of the KH-11 was never discussed. There was even confusion about precisely when the accident occurred. Most of the news media placed it on August 28, but *Aviation Week and Space Technology* put it ten days earlier. Not even William Casey, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, would have objected to this coverage.

On last April 18, the Air Force launched another Titan from Vandenberg with another secret payload. The result was similar. This time, however, the explosion was visible over a large area of Southern California. Witnesses reported seeing a ball of orange flame and a mushroom-shaped cloud. The Air Force treated 58 people at the base hospital who complained of burning eyes and skin.

Alerted to serious launching problems by the Challenger disaster, the press did not again ignore the Titan's failure. By chance, the *Times*'s Broad was at Vandenberg, covering construction of a launching site for the space shuttle. He was in his motel room when the explosion occurred. He filed a front-page story for April 19, another for the 20th, and a third (for the science section) on the 22nd. Major stories appeared in *The Washington Post*, *The Boston Globe*, and *The Los Angeles Times*, as well on the network evening news programs. All focused not only on the problems of the hobbled rocket, but also on its precious cargo, another lost KH-11 satellite. Or, to be more precise, *perhaps* another lost KH-11.

So began a brief but intense media flirtation with the

"blackest" of national security subjects: how we photograph the Soviet Union. The loss of two Titans, two spy satellites and the Challenger, all within eight months, plus the loss of a Delta rocket with its weather satellite on May 3, posed two ominous questions: How long will we be able to photograph the Soviets if such disasters continue? And what are the implications for arms control if the pictures stop, or are not of the accustomed quality?

After more than two decades of silence from the government on spy satellites, it was not easy, in this case, for journalists to pull aside the curtain. Reporters mined what few sources there were. Government experts either were not talking, or their not-for-attribution quotes were aimed at audiences of insiders or at deceiving the Soviets. Non-governmental experts *were* talking, but they did not have direct access to the facts and had to make educated inferences from circumstantial evidence.

All the journalists involved, and even government spokespersons, agreed that the U.S. was having trouble launching any sort of rocket, and that this problem has to be cleared up quickly. There was little agreement, however, on these two questions: What was the April Titan trying to place in orbit? And how much does it matter that it never got there?

Was it another KH-11? Broad and the *Times* said it "almost certainly" was. To his credit, he named his sources: Dr. Paul B. Stares of the Brookings Institution, and Stephen Daggett of the Center for Defense Information. In his story of April 20 he added support for this view from James Bamford, author of *The Puzzle Palace*, a highly regarded study of the National Security Agency. These sources based their conclusion on such details as the location of the launch (California, not Florida), the type of rocket used, and the fact that the U.S. prefers to have two KH-11's in orbit. They also believed, and Broad wrote, that the April explosion destroyed the *last* KH-11 in the inventory. The U.S. would have to rely on the one in orbit until its successor, a KH-12, could be successfully launched by a re-designed shuttle or a newer and bigger Titan. Broad was joined in these views by Fred Kaplan of the *Globe*, the team of James Gerstenzang and Ralph Vartabedian of *The Los Angeles Times*, ABC, NBC, *The Washington Times* and *USA Today*.

Walter Pincus of *The Washington Post* disagreed. "The first call I made after the launch was to a source [in government] who told me it was not a KH-11," Pincus says. A systematic disinformation campaign to lead reporters away from the KH-11 would have taken longer to percolate, Pincus believes, lending credence to his source's quick response. Additionally, as Pincus questioned many of the same non-governmental experts as Broad, he decided too much internal disagreement existed to accept their assessment. Therefore, in his first-day story, written with Kathy Sawyer, he referred to the payload as "a secret electronic communications satellite." CBS also referred to it only as a spy satellite, and a *Los Angeles Times* story on April 23 backtracked by quoting an unnamed Pentagon official who asserted it



was not a KH-11.

A few days later, *Aviation Week and Space Technology* weighed in with a stunner. The payload was actually a "Big Bird," the nickname for the KH-9, a forerunner of the KH-11, that many non-governmental experts believe has not been placed in orbit for some time. The story never used the designation KH-9, however, only "Big Bird," leading John Pike to discount it. "This story so confused the situation that it could have convinced journalists to stop writing about it," Pike observes, which would have been just what the Air Force wanted. Standing by the story, an *Aviation Week* insider says the magazine's source "wore a blue [Air Force] uniform." No source was cited in the story. *The New York Times* passed along the *Aviation Week* view to its readers in wire stories on April 26 and 27, without reference to the earlier, contradictory reports by Broad. Mike Leary of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* adopted the KH-9 view in a May 5 article.

What, then, was on that Titan? Pike and Paul Stares still believe it was most likely the last KH-11. An alternate hypothesis not much discussed in the press (although hinted at by Walter Pincus) is that an entirely new type of spy satellite was aboard.

What does it matter? Quite a bit, thought Broad, who referred to it as a "crisis" in intelligence gathering. This view was echoed by *USA Today*, NBC, and, to a lesser extent, the *Globe* and *Los Angeles Times*. In his story on the 19th, Broad quoted Stares

as saying, "[I]t means that the United States is currently dependent on a single reconnaissance satellite in space. If it should fail the U.S. would have no spy satellites over the Soviet Union." The next day Broad quoted an unnamed aerospace engineer who warned, "It's very serious for arms control. . . . [W]e're down to a single spacecraft to verify any arms control accord."

If Broad's stories can be faulted, it is for not emphasizing the many other "assets" the U.S. has to spy on the Soviets, exclusive of the KH-11. Stares believes it would have been more accurate to say that there *could* be a crisis, should the remaining KH-11 develop trouble before a KH-12 can be launched, and he was quoted to that milder effect by *Aviation Week*. Readers might also have been told that even without a KH-11 transmitting its pictures, the Soviet Union would first have to find out about it, and it would take them months to capitalize on our blindness in a way that could endanger national security. By that time, it is possible the U.S. could launch a KH-12 spy satellite.

John Pike worries that such crisis stories give arms control opponents in the administration another reason not to deal with the Soviets, (though he himself contributed to the crisis-mongering with some of the quotes he gave reporters).

To further confuse matters, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* were dueling over the story, as is their custom, so readers had to sort out the genuine

## A Tale of Two Leaks About Arms Control

ROBERT C. TOTH, A NATIONAL SECURITY correspondent for *The Los Angeles Times*, spoke to a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Philadelphia last May 27. His topic was "The Media and Arms control." An excerpt follows:

A typical arms control leak occurred last September when Soviet Foreign Minister [Eduard] Shevardnadze was coming to town with a new arms offer. The administration had proposed a 33 percent cut in strategic missile warheads, and Moscow let the administration know in advance that Shevardnadze would offer a 40 percent cut in strategic weapons. Presidential aides, to minimize his impact on the U.S. public, leaked Shevardnadze's anticipated offer. But when he came, Shevardnadze went one better, offering 50 percent.

*This tells you something not only about leaks, but also about the theatrical nature of figures. On the other hand, both sides are now publicly signed on to the goal of a 50 percent cut in strategic arms, which will be a measure of how well they succeed in the end.*

*I will cite another arms control leak, because it concerned really harmful as well as secret data. In 1979, the Carter White House decided to tell the public how well the United States could monitor the SALT II agreement, which was then in trouble before Congress. A senior presidential aide asked a military friend of mine to brief Richard Burt, [then] of The New York Times, on U.S. capabilities. My friend insisted that the request be put in writing because the material was so sensitive he could go to jail for divulging it. Carter's aide refused, and . . . briefed Burt himself. The information he provided, which Burt printed, helped close off listening channels to the United States, and thereby did real dam-*

*age to the national security. In his enthusiasm, the Carter aide who did the leaking had overstepped his authority to leak. He almost got fired.*

*. . . Don't mistake me. The media [don't] want to stop leaks. We take the ones that come on platters from Democratic and Republican administrations without fear or favor, I hope, although we know there is no free lunch. We try to compensate for the spin that is put on the information as best we can.*

*I recognize that leaks can damage the national interest. Lots less than alleged, but some damage. As a journalist, however, short of a national emergency, I cannot be expected to withhold information. It is unnatural. It is not our role. We in the media should not be blamed for disclosing sensitive information, since it is not our responsibility to protect sensitive information. Our job is to tell what we know. But often we are blamed, and it diminishes our standing and hence our credibility with the public.*



disagreements from the second-day paybacks.

In an article on April 24, Pincus attacked Broad's thesis by quoting an unnamed former Pentagon official as saying that the U.S. has "adequate resources to cover our needs" and more "assets" in space capable of providing *visual* [emphasis added] and other intelligence data than experts outside government realize. Pincus himself believes that, if anything, the U.S. "has too much photo capability already," and he also is willing to consider that the U.S. may have photo reconnaissance assets in orbit that are known only to the intelligence community. Pincus thinks the *Times* went overboard, and he fought inside the *Post* to chart a different course.

Pincus's piece is thought by some of the experts to contain inaccurate information provided by the military to further confuse, and lay to rest, the debate. Pike also thinks it very unlikely that the government could have orbited any significant photo reconnaissance asset of which he would be unaware, particularly since it would have to be the size of a Greyhound bus to compete with the KH-11 in value. But only a very few officials know for certain, and they aren't talking.

All, or at least most, of this coverage should be viewed as a healthy prelude to a more vigorous explor-

ation of how we know what we know about the Soviets. But to accomplish this the press must keep the spotlight on space. This has not yet happened. The KH-11 story was obscured with enough chaff by the Air Force that by mid-June the KH-11 had dropped from sight, with many basic questions still to be raised.

For example, what is the KH-12, and how are we going to get one into orbit? How valuable are such assets as the SR-71 and U-2 spy planes, and the various signal intelligence satellites? How did the U.S. get into the position of relying on only one KH-11, if indeed that is the case? What do the *Soviets* have whirling overhead, and how good are their pictures of us? Do they have launch problems? How different is their reconnaissance strategy, and can we learn anything from it?

Walter Andrews of *The Washington Times* touched on the Soviet reconnaissance strategy in a valuable piece on May 14, and he discussed in an April 22 article how the remaining KH-11 could be "nursed" along to keep it in orbit. But such stories were rare. Yet the contribution to understanding arms control from even one story on the KH-11 is worth a lifetime of photo opportunities in Geneva.

—David M. Rubin

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# The Ultimate Deadline Is Upon Us...

No subject covered by the press is more urgent than the arms race. But the public's confusion suggests that the coverage is not good enough. What can be done to make it better? What stories does the press get wrong, or miss entirely? What can be done to improve the coverage of arms control and the peace movement? Of the next summit? Of "Star Wars"?

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tries to answer these and many other questions by evaluating the reporting and suggesting ways to improve it. We hope to help the press do a better job by holding it up to scrutiny in *Deadline*, a new bi-monthly newsletter of research, analysis and opinion. We hope you will become a Center Member at an annual cost of only \$25 for individuals and \$50 for institutions. In addition to *Deadline*, members receive invitations to Center symposia and conferences as well as reduced prices on the Center's scholarly papers and books. Members may also make use of the Center's library of arms race press coverage.

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## NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

### GREAT PEACE MARCH

The Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament proceeds apace, arriving in **Des Moines, IA (July 15-17); Iowa City (July 26); Davenport, IA (July 31); Chicago (Aug. 12); Gary IN (Aug 15-17); Michigan City, IN (Aug 19); South Bend, IN (Aug 22); and Elkhart, IN (Aug 23-24).** For a more detailed itinerary, or to give much-needed donations, *contact* the group at 29982 Ivy Glenn, Laguna Niguel, CA 92677 or call their L.A. office at (213) 458-7983.

### FREEZE CORPS VOLUNTEERS

Activists are needed to make a serious commitment to help stop the arms race. Volunteers will be assigned to targeted Senate races. Current full-time positions open in **Colorado, South Dakota, Idaho, Missouri,** and several other states. Volunteers will be provided with room, board, transportation costs, and stipend. *Contact:* Freeze Voter, 733 15 St NW, Ste 526, Washington, DC 20005 (202) 783-8747.

### SUMMER TRAINING INSTITUTE

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign is sponsoring three workshops this summer for state and local staff, and for National Committee representatives. The first, from **July 18-20 in Chicago,** will address "Strategy, Tactics, and Long Range Planning"; the second, from **July 25-27 in San Francisco,** will focus on "Grassroots Organizing for 'Peace and Justice,'" and the third, from **August 15-17 in Boston,** will cover "Media Work and Public Relations." For more information, *contact:* Kenneth Jones, Training Coordinator, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 I St NE, Ste 130, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-0880.

### SILO CAMPAIGN

Demonstrations planned for late summer (see **North Dakota, Aug 9** and **Wyoming, Aug 31**) and early fall will draw attention to the warheads hidden in over 1000 underground missile silos in the Midwest and Great Plains. The rallies will coincide with the publication of maps prepared by Nukewatch in conjunction with local volunteers which show the exact location of missile silos in Montana, North Dakota, and the high plains of Wyoming, Nebraska, and Colorado. At Great Falls, Montana, the Silence One Silo campaign and other nuclear missile resisters will observe the autumnal equinox on **September 21** with a rally and vigils centered on the 200 missile silos at Malmstrom Air Force Base. For more information about the Silo Campaign, *contact:* Nukewatch, 315 W Gorham St, Madison, WI 53703 (608) 256-4146.

## JULY 13

### NEW YORK

• **New York** The Rev Dale C. White, Methodist Bishop of New York, will preach on the Methodists' recent pastoral on the arms race, followed by a discussion in the nave; Riverside Church. *Contact:* Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 440 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900.

## JULY 17

### CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) national assembly, "Faith and Empowerment: Organizing & Building Communities for Justice and Peace," including speakers, workshops, and a special program for 7-12 year olds. Gus Newport, Cecil Will-

# Calendar

**A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast. Please submit September and October events by August 1.**

iams, Janice Mirikitani, and Daniel Ellsberg will participate, **through July 20.** *Contact:* Ecumenical Peace Institute/CALC, PO Box 9334, Berkeley, CA 94709 (415) 849-2214.

## JULY 24

### CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** National Association of Radiation Survivors (NARS) Convention, will feature Senator Alan Cranston, David Bradley M.D., author of *No Place to Hide*, and many others; **through July 28.** *Contact:* Dorothy Legarreta, administrative director, NARS, 78 El Camino Real, Berkeley, CA 94705 (415) 658-6056.

## JULY 25

### NORTH CAROLINA

• **Swannanoa** "Facing the Nuclear Winter Night: Options and Actions," the annual World Affairs Institute sponsored by the American Freedom Association (AFA), with workshops and plenaries. Keynote speaker is Andrew Young, Mayor of Atlanta; **through July 27.** *Contact:* Ann Smith, AFA, 1732 Byron St, Alexandria, VA 22303 (919) 786-5233.

### ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** The Annual Midwest Academy Conference, with workshops on peace issues, electoral skills, US foreign policy, and more; **through July**

**27.** *Contact:* Midwest Academy Conference, 600 W Fullerton Pkwy, Chicago, IL 60614 (312) 975-3670.

## JULY 26

### INDIANA

• **West Lafayette** The first annual Indiana Conference on Peacemaking will address the greater need for communication in the state, **through July 27.** *Contact:* Peacemaking Action Network, 320 N St, West Lafayette, IN 47906 (317) 743-3861.

## JULY 30

### NORTH CAROLINA

• **Asheville** National Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), "Hearts on the Line," with workshops, children's programs, entertainment and more, and featuring poet Wendell Berry, and civil rights activists Dorothy Cotton, Rosemarie and Vincent Harding, and Myles Horton, **through Aug 3.** *Contact:* Fran Levin, FOR, PO Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601.

## AUGUST 1

### NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Conway** "Peace Priorities," a seminar on the advancement of world peace, with Jules Lobel, Professor of Law, University of Pittsburgh; Arnie Alpert, staff member of the American Friends Service Committee, and others; **through**

**Aug 7.** *Contact:* Christoph and Kathryn Smauch, Directors, World Fellowship, RD Box 136, Conway NH 03818 (603) 447-2280.

## AUGUST 15

### MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** "The Revolution of Gospel Nonviolence," annual national assembly of Pax Christi USA, with speakers, including Father Richard Rohr, and workshops leaders, including Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, Mary Evelyn Jegen, and others. Charlie King will perform Saturday evening; **through Aug 17.** *Contact:* Pax Christi USA, 3348 E 10 St, Erie, PA 16503 (814) 453-4955.

## AUGUST 22

### CALIFORNIA

• **Ben Lomond** War Resisters League (WRL) West's regional conference, "Building Our Nonviolent Vision," with workshops, seminars, entertainment, and more; **through Aug 24.** *Contact:* WRL West, 942 Market St, No 705, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 731-1220.

### NEW YORK

• **New York** North Atlantic Network (NAN) conference will examine the political, economic, and environmental causes and consequences of the arms buildup at sea, **through Aug 24.** *Contact:* NAN, 853 Broadway, No 418, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

## AUGUST 31

### WYOMING

• **Cheyenne** "Judgment at Cheyenne," asks thousands of people to call for "MX off The Range." Events will include a funeral procession to an MX silo, a picnic with entertainment, and direct action. *Contact:* Patty Bates, Western Solidarity, 2239 E Colfax, No 204, Denver, CO 80206 (303) 355-5124.

—Compiled by **Renata Rizzo** with **Daniel Grunebaum**

## HIROSHIMA-NAGASAKI DAYS 1986

## AUGUST 6

### CALIFORNIA

• **Livermore** Nonviolent blockade and occupation to stop testing at Livermore Research laboratory test site 300; vigil at test site 300 followed by noon rally at Lincoln Park in Tracey CA on **Aug 9.** *Contact:* Joe Blackburn, Nonviolent Action Project/Livermore Action Group, 3126 Chattuck Av, Berkeley, CA 94705 (415) 644-3031.

### NEW YORK

• **New York** Fr. George Zabelka, Catholic chaplain to Hiroshima bombing unit, to speak at evening ecumenical service in Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza. *Contact:* Luke Hill, Pax Christi Metro-New York, 405 W 114 St, New York, NY 10025 (212) 866-3030.

### OHIO

• **Fairborn** Hiroshima Day Vigil at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, gate 1C, State Highway 444. *Contact:* Larry Gara, 21 Faculty Pl, Wilmington, OH 45177 (513) 382-3569.

### PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** Day-long presence and hourly nonviolent civil disobedience at GE's Space Div. Hdqs. in Valley Forge. Sunrise service at GE's Phila. plant to be held **Aug 9.** *Contact:* Bob Smith, Brandywine Peace Community, PO Box 81, Swarthmore, PA 19081 (215) 544-1818.

## AUGUST 2

### MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis/St. Paul** Week-long Hiroshima-Nagasaki Day commemorations begin with 6th annual "Legs Against Arms Run and Rollerskate Race," ending with "Memorial Concert" by members of Minnesota Orchestra and St. Paul Chamber Orchestra at House of Hope Presbyterian Church; **Aug 10.** *Contact:* Marj Wunder, Hiroshima/Nagasaki Commemorative Events Committee, 4508 Arden Ave S, Minneapolis, MN 55424 (612) 920-3439.

## AUGUST 4

### NEVADA

• **Las Vegas** "Desert Witness II," civil disobedience and nonviolent demonstration by people of faith at Nevada Test Site, **through Aug 6.** *Contact:* Peg Bean, Nevada Desert Experience, PO Box 4487, Las Vegas, NV 89127 (702) 646-4814.

### TENNESSEE

• **Memphis** Annual vigil at Mid-America Mall. *Contact:* Hubert Van Tol, Mid-South Peace and Justice Center, PO Box 1428, Memphis, TN 38111 (901) 452-6997.

## AUGUST 8

### TEXAS

• **Amarillo** Peace camp with Nagasaki commemoration, workshops and nonviolence training outside The Panter Weapons Assembly Plant; **through Aug 9,** followed by nonviolent blockade of the plant on **Aug 10.** *Contact:* Red River Peace Network, PO Box 1396, Amarillo, TX 79105 (806) 381-9289.

## AUGUST 9

### NORTH DAKOTA

• **Fargo** Rally at Turtle River State Park followed by all-night nonviolent vigil at Grand Forks Air Force Base missile field. *Contact:* Mary Clark-Kaiser, Fargo/Moorhead Peace Workers, 722 N 9 St, Fargo, ND 58102 (701) 293-7039.

### VERMONT

• **Burlington** "Peace Festival," followed by evening musical concert and a candleboat ceremony at Lake Champlain. *Contact:* Bob Fisher, Burlington Peace Coalition, 186 College St, Burlington, VT 05401 (802) 863-8326.

Compiled by **David Wofford**



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